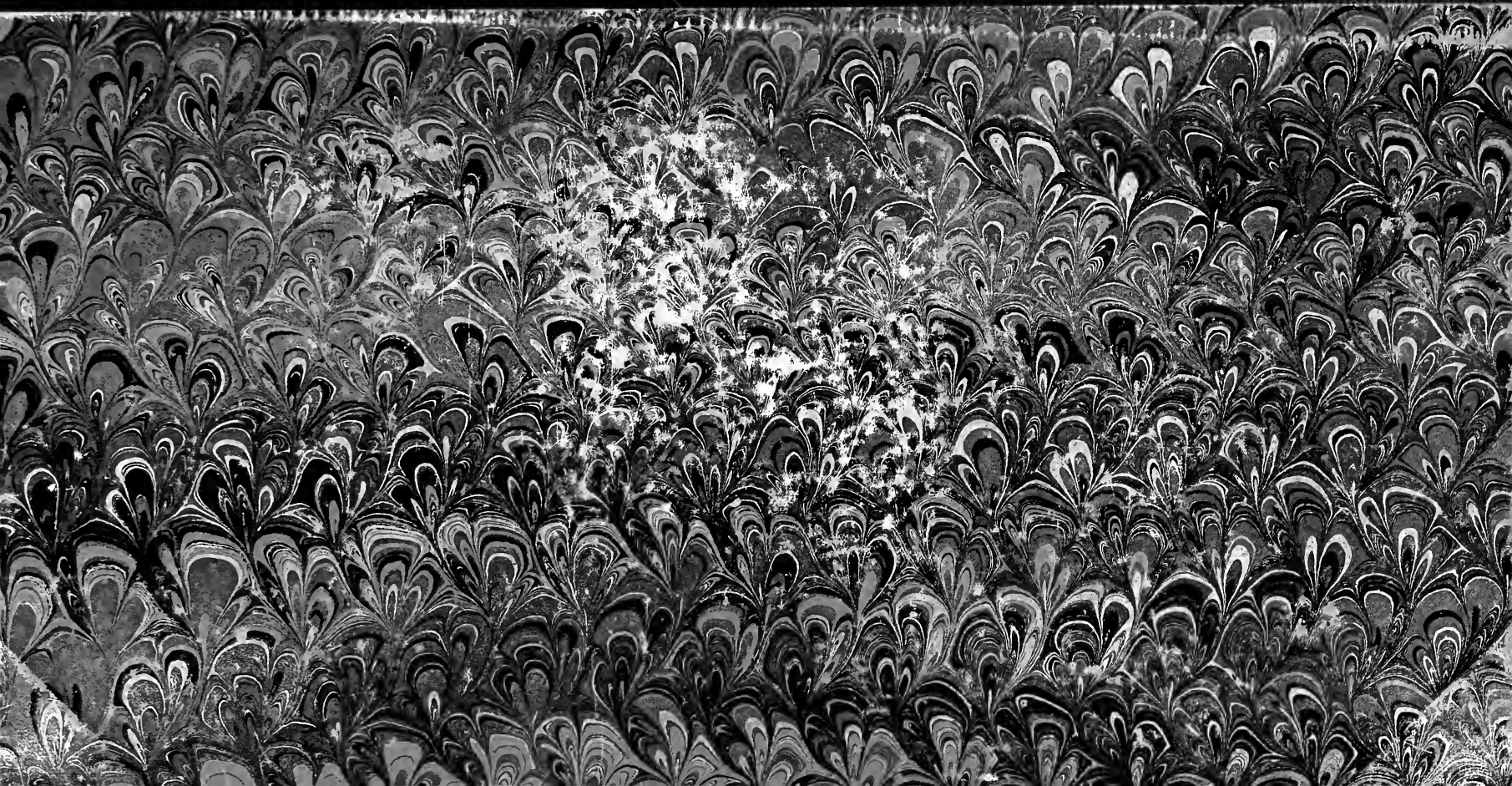

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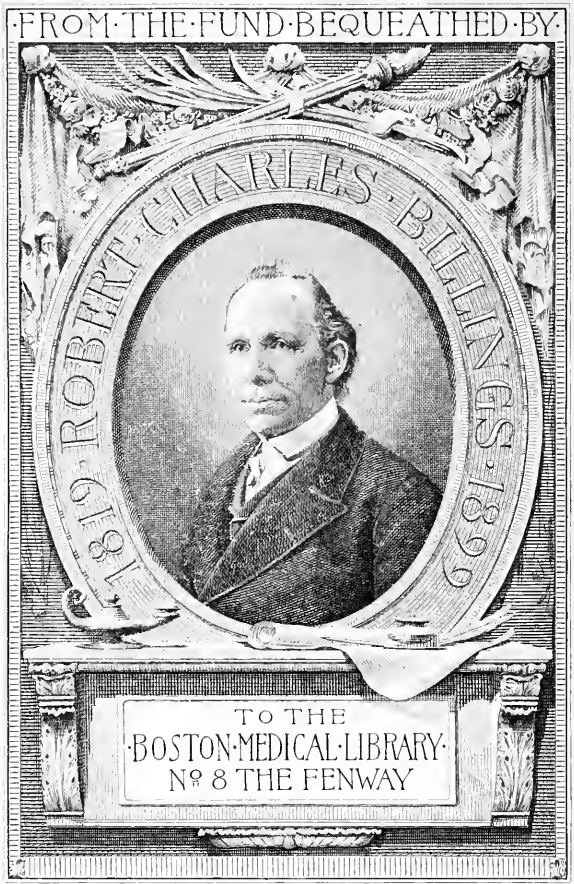
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NERVOUS AND MENTAL DISEASE MONOGRAPH SERIES NO. 29

A STUDY OF THE MENTAL LIFE OF THE CHILD

1515

BY

DR. H. VON HUG-HELLMUTH

TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN BY

JAMES J. PUTNAM, M.D.
Harvard Medical School

AND

MABEL STEVENS, B.S.
Wellesley

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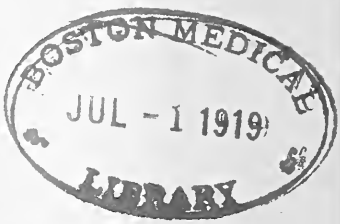

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TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE

The appearance of this book in English translation should be welcomed by all serious students of the periods of infancy and early childhood;—not because the claim can be made for it that it represents the outcome of a judicial weighing of all the factors that go to make the infant and the child that which they are, but because it describes, in almost monographic form, a certain, very important, group of these factors,—of which nothing would be known but for the work of Sigmund Freud, whose views the author of this treatise faithfully reproduces.

Whatever differences of opinion may be held about some of the bearings of these views, the time is now long past when any one who cares for the truth about the matters to which they pertain can excuse himself for treating them with neglect. To do so would be to neglect the most thorough study which ever has been published, of a set of influences, or motives, which have a vast amount to do with the development of the poetical, literary, religious, philosophical and esthetic tendencies in human nature, and which serve indirectly (through giving rise to "conflicts") as fruitful causes of defects of character, unhappiness, and positive illnesses of pronounced sorts. To some extent the desires to which these motives correspond belong to what might be called the "underworld of human thought."

The most significant of the earlier contributions to the history of infancy and early childhood came from men and women who strove to record with fidelity the sayings and doings of their own children. The plan was unexceptionable; but it should be recognized that where the thoughts, feelings and emotions of a human being are the object of study, the ability to "see and hear" is limited, almost rigorously, by the ability to "understand." An observer is not a phonograph, but a *person,* whose seeing and hearing is largely a *selecting,* carried on with deference to a set of opinions, mainly preconceived though subject to constant modification. One's senses, urged forward or held back by one's personality, rush to confirm, or hasten instinctively to turn away from, what one's education has led one to regard as noteworthy or objectionable, as the case may be, in the light of what one knew or felt or hoped for or had learned to look on with disfavor or disgust. Fortunately, some few observa-

tions escape this censorship, and when these are faithfully recorded, either without any attempt at interpretation or with an interpretation which is subject to reversal by an observer of improved or different training, they may become peculiarly valuable, as affording material for the corroboration of some new argument. Great use has been made of such data in this book, and the fact should be counted to its credit.

It is, however, plain, that—in accordance with the well established psychological principle just outlined—the ignorance of his own infancy on the part of an observer, no matter how conscientious he may be, should be considered as a handicap of very serious sort. And this ignorance is, in general, almost complete; for few people have any memory, except in isolated scraps, of their own infancy and early childhood years. It is just because this barrier between the infant and the grown-up is so real and effective, that its very existence is so difficult to credit. We have grown so thoroughly accustomed to accepting certain points of cantact between infants and ourselves, not only as valuable, but as representing all the contacts that could be thought of as existing, that the inclination to look further tends to cease, and we content ourselves, for the most part, with seeing, in our progeny, the signs of mental processes just like our own, or what we wish our own and theirs to be. A similar barrier is present, and almost equally effective, as Lèvy-Bruhl[1] has clearly shown, as an obstacle to the understanding of the mental processes of the primitive races, between which and those of the child striking analogies exist.

One might, indeed, go further and compare these barriers to those which hamper us in our attempts to really comprehend the mental operations of our household pets, causing us to ascribe to them motives which they do not possess, and to overlook others which they not only possess, but possess in common with the human species,—especially the child.

But this loss of one's childhood is an affair of very special sort, and it is one of Freud's never to be forgotten services, as this book clearly shows, to have defined the factors that bring it to pass. The "forgetting" here at stake is not a case of losing hold on an impression feebly implanted in the mind, but a case, on the contrary, of a difficulty, sometimes so great as to be insurmountable, in recalling that which it is exceedingly distasteful to keep before one's mental view. In the case of the child (who is not greatly troubled by counteracting scruples), this sort of forgetting goes on with an

[1] Les Fonctions Mentales des Societés Inférieurs.

effectiveness that the adult finds it difficult to appreciate; and the marvel becomes greater, how it was that Freud and his colleagues were able to piece together, bit by bit, so much of the history of this momentous epoch, when the foundations of certain elements in the character and temperament are so deeply laid. Let no one who would claim fair-mindedness set this history aside because of its "unpleasantness." In the first place, impartial science has the right to ask only, What is true? In the next place, both theory and evidence combine to indicate that what we, as cultural adults, estimate as "unpleasant," the infant, in his day, with absolutely no standards of comparison, with nothing, indeed, to go by but his feelings, presumably finds, or found, anything but unpleasant.

For it should not be forgotten that the infant, during that period —so short in time, so significant in eventfulness—before the pressure exerted by "society" has made itself completely felt, is already a *person,* after his own fashion, and has strong likes and dislikes which are necessarily of a somewhat animalistic, or, as the adult would say, partly sensual and partly selfish sort.[2] In other words, the infant or young child, during this transition period, is already and in a very striking sense, a duplex, a dissociated, person. He is being urged to join the ranks of the grown-ups, and as he responds strongly to this urging he is, in so far, committed to the conventions of society. Yet, with another portion of his instincts and desires, he still remains literally a non-social, non-cultural being, with the desires characteristic of that phase. As time goes on, the child, if he develops "normally," as it is called, becomes more and more committed to the social scheme and may learn to utilize the wishes of his early, relatively sensual phase of development as a valuable source of enrichment of his emotional but still social life, and his imagination, if suitably trained for that end, may intensify this tendency. Then, the "dissociation," largely—though never wholly—disappears, and the child's life becomes mainly unified on the lines of social interests. In very many cases, however—and always to some extent—the dissociation goes on, but in such a way that the child keeps his sensuous, or sensual, interests concealed (or "repressed") while he adopts, outwardly, all the manners and customs of "society," or at least enough of them to afford him the "entrée" that he needs. So built up, the child has in him the making of a poet, a genius, a brooder, a philosopher, perhaps—but also of an individual with neurotic tendencies, or "conflicts," and with the chance, through

[2] I confidently believe that the young child has, also, dim but exceedingly important feelings classifiable as spiritual or religious.

the overcoming of these, of becoming a person of peculiarly rich, sympathetic, well-rounded character; knowing himself and knowing good and evil.[3] One of the means of helping the child, or the adult, to attain to this result is that based on the method of self-study defined by Freud as psychoanalysis.

It is not to be admitted that the discovery by Freud of this new means of penetrating the mystery of life will secure to the observer the final word in this important investigation. Psychoanalysis studies a certain portion of the influences, mainly in the form of passions and cravings, which act upon the child without his acknowledgment or awareness of their presence. But in the opinion of the writer of this preface, other influences, still more important, are at work, as well,—influences which connect the fortunes of the child to the fortunes of the universe as a whole, and which, on the whole, are of a nobler sort than those on which any single individual can count, if thought as living in and for himself alone.

But Freud did demonstrate certain intensely important aspects of the history, first of childhood, then of that extension of childhood that we call adulthood. He showed how the child acquires the power to retain two apparently incongruous wishes,—the wish to be counted among his elders, and the wish to retain the relatively sensuous pleasure of his infancy. He showed, further, how the older child soon learns to push aside, and, *so far as his consciousness is concerned,* to "forget," the earlier period, and how, as he grows still older, his infancy fades altogether from his view, although he retains, as it were, its aroma, in forms which are sometimes far too stringent and objectionable for his good as a stable member of society. Just what these forms are it is not my purpose to describe. I wish only to prepare the wholly uninitiated for the descriptions which will follow, by giving my assurance that what I have said as regards the difficulty of observation is strictly within the truth; and, furthermore, that the facts which the author has stated, however strange they seem, have been many times confirmed by competent observers. As I have said, one great merit of the book, which should relieve it from the criticism of using only ex parte data, is that the author has gone back largely, for her illustrations, to authorities, like Preyer, Darwin, Shinn and others, who wrote either before Freud or without any knowledge of his work.

JAMES J. PUTNAM, M.D.

[3] Cf. last footnote.

AUTHOR'S INTRODUCTION

"Aspirest thou thy children's steps to guide,
Let Love reign in thy heart, march by thy side."[1]

Any one who has the will and patience to make a careful, first-hand study of the mental life of childhood, and is prepared to try, single-mindedly and without prejudice, to discover what children actually think about in their speculations and their reflections, and the true basis and contents of their feelings and emotions, is certain to discover signs and tendencies, of whose existence no hint is to be found in the classical treatises on these topics. Indeed, the conclusions to which the existing publications with regard to this matter of children's mental life seem to point, differ in many essential respects from those that are to be reached by the method of conscientious, unbiased observation; and it is the latter mode of inquiry that must be adopted, if the literal and whole truth in this important field of inquiry is desired. One would seek in vain, for example, among scientific treatises, for any adequate description of the interest felt by children in the important functions of their own bodies, and of the organs that subserve these functions; or for any statement indicating how engrossing the problem of nakedness is for the young child, even the child of only two or three years old. Facts that are well known to every nurse are systematically shunned by the accepted authorities, who, in taking the attitude which they do take toward certain classes of facts, plainly neglect or ignore a series of influences which are of fundamental importance as factors in character-development. Thus, psychoanalytic investigations have proved that persons in whose childhood anal-erotism is strongly marked acquire compulsive cravings, which, a little later, are felt as unpleasant and are therefore repressed, though only to be exchanged for another set of compulsive tendencies, characterized by the placing of an excessive emphasis on personal cleanliness and intellectual pedantry. Other persons, on the contrary, whose early history in this respect was of this same general sort, but whose sexual curiosity had led them into paths of impurity in which the anal-erotism figured still more strongly, find themselves seriously

[1] "Wollt ihr die Kinder treu behüten,
Lasst eure Sorge Liebe sein."—A. Traeger.

hampered, subsequently, in the cultivation of the affections which would be classified as "normal."

Only those can grasp the true significance of these processes of transformation who have taken pains to gain a genuine conception, from the child's standpoint, of what the experiences and emotions of the period of childhood really are. Childhood has its own ethics, its own standards and desires, and the measuring rod of social requirements and prohibitions affords but a poor means of judging of their merits. When the cardinal demand of the psychoanalytic method,—namely, that absolute frankness should be considered as the order of the day,—is recognized to be as important for the study of childhood as it is in other matters; then, and then only, shall we be able to obtain an adequate comprehension of child-life. But it is certain that when that time arrives, and this study has been duly made, we shall find ourselves well on the road toward a better understanding of the mental problems of the adult.

Much that is so puzzling in the psychology of grown persons is to be reached by passing through a door to which a close scrutiny of the relations that obtain between the mental operations of adults and those of children furnishes the key. And, by the same token, we can appreciate better how the emotions of all persons come to have their driving force by dint of gaining a clearer knowledge of the hidden sources whence they spring. When scientific men cease to disdain the use of the psychoanalytic method—in fact the most reliable of all methods as a means of probing the depths of the mind,—they will be better able to decipher the strange characters in which mental experiences tend to leave their records. And so too, we shall be prepared to show ourselves more just as parents, more forbearing as guardians and teachers, toward our children, when the history and nature of the emotional life, so many of the manifestations of which are now wrapt in a positively hateful obscurity, shall have become illuminated by the new discoveries that are being made along these lines. Many of the faults of character which children show, with the effect of arousing in their older relatives an intolerable sense of humiliation, and in their teachers a sense of estrangement that often leads them to show hardness and impatience, would induce a different reaction if they were recognized, as they should be, as signs of normal sexuality of childhood gone astray. The day will come when students and teachers, realizing the immense importance of the sexual functions for human life and character, will pay careful attention to its varied manifestations in the educa-

tion of the generations committed to their charge, and will accord to it the place that its significance demands.

First of all, we must learn to look upon the manifestations of sexual life as a series of natural phenomena, and to see in the expression of the sexual instinct in its infantile form, not something reprehensible and offensive, but the essential, preliminary phase of a great life-process which is bound to exert a deeper-reaching influence as time goes on, and to make of the adult years a heaven or a hell, as the case may be, and which are capable of sowing seeds that will come to flowering, later, in the form of great works of art or deep thoughts.

And now a word with regard to the arrangement of the material which this essay seeks to utilize: Those who have written heretofore upon the subject of childhood have adopted one or another mode of classification of the topics to be considered, according to the special end which they have had in view. Thus, some authors have taken as their point of departure the different special senses, and have described the infant (whom they assume to have got through that "tiresome first quarter of a year") as, first, "a smiler," then "a see-er," then "a creeper," "a grasper," and "a prattler" (Lächling, Sehling, Läufling, Greifling, Sprechling). Others have been content to treat the whole first year as one period, the next two years as another, and the later years of childhood as a third, leading over into puberty, and then the adult period. Finally, there are those who regard the language function—that most powerful of all factors in the development of the human intelligence—as furnishing the best means of estimating the mental growth of children. But, useful though this latter classification may be for the purposes of such investigations as deal simply with the psychology of speech, it seems to me that where the object at stake is the obtaining of a clear general view of the mental evolution of the child, that takes place simultaneously along a number of lines of which the speech development represents but one, it is better not to emphasize the latter predominantly, but, rather, taking a hint from nature herself, to recognize the active interests definable as nursing, play and study, as dividing up the whole course of childhood into a number of periods of which these activities are mainly characteristic. It is to the analysis of the two first of these periods that these pages are to be devoted.

The nursing period, which is principally occupied, so far as the mental processes are concerned, with reactions—pleasurable or painful—to the operations of feeding and the care of the body, and

to the regularly recurring alternations of sleep and waking, passes gradually over, during the later months of the first year, into the second great period, *the period of play.*

This period takes in the years during which play is for the child his chief interest and main purpose, and every object is made use of—a plaything. It includes the time from the end of the first year until the beginning of *school life,* that most important of landmarks in the childs existence.

The first day of school is a milestone in the history of childhood. It takes the child out of the world of the little folk and transfers him to the ranks of the grown up and the learned, amongst whom he is thereafter to figure as a fellow student. From that moment he becomes conscious of new powers and obligations, and as he marches to school with satchel, slate and primer, a proud sense of dignity inspires him. During this *school period,* play grows somewhat less important and the primacy passes from it to duty, which, however, still seems gilded by the luminous memories of happy hours and the thoughts of joys to come. This recognition of the primacy of duty begins with the "Früh-auf" on the very first day of school, and increases steadily, hand in hand with the child's mental growth, strengthening and ripening the spirit for the conflicts of life, and giving a new impulse to the sense of inner freedom. But play still remains, during this period of awakening, as the cherished ally of the growing child, taking on new forms but remaining true, in essentials, to its primal and essential mission. The influence of the imagination, in play, which had striven to transform and make over the external world in the interests of pleasure, becomes year by year, less prominent, and games depending on that factor give place to those of which the main motive is ambition, directed, now towards supremacy in feats of strength, now towards intellectual success. Or, again, the child seeks the quieter satisfactions which attend an increasing fondness for the immortal works of great poets and of artists. Thus the fantasy draws gradually back into the hidden corners of the mind, where the longings gather which look toward maturity for their fulfilment.

The years of puberty, marked by the unquenchable desire for friendship and love, freedom and power, form the transition period by way of which childhood passes over into the years when the sense of independence and the acceptance of personal responsibility become chiefly dominant and each individual acknowledges his accountability for his deeds and his omissions.

The third period, *the period of serious study,*[1] embraces the school years, strictly speaking, but also extends beyond these toward a limit which varies with each person according to the more or less incidental occurrence of this or that outward circumstance or inner experience. It was only after a great deal of reflection that I decided to arrange what I had to say—in accordance with the scheme thus outlined, but contrary to the habit of other authors—with reference to the principal epochs of childhood as above defined. I am well aware that this mode of treatment leaves much to be desired, but the objections which might be raised against the plan seem to me overbalanced by its advantages, which are of the following sort:

This division of the mental evolution of childhood into periods corresponding with the different ages, and with reference to the principal and special developmental trends, regarded as working themselves out side by side and as coloring simultaneously all the child's experiences and reactions, makes it possible to unify the picture presented by each period. On the other hand, those modes of treatment which aim to describe one by one and as if existing independently, the various special mental tendencies which, in fact, run on through the whole duration of childhood, oblige each reader who wishes to get a clear impression of any given period of life to re-classify for himself the data thus presented.

I have therefore considered in separate chapters the development of the special senses, the intellect, the speech and the emotions, only as far as the theory propounded by the genius of Freud,—which forms the basis of the whole treatise,—has seemed to me to demand. Throughout the work, I have made full use of the rich data furnished by Preyer, Shinn, Scupin, Sully and other well recognized authorities. Indeed, I have taken special pains to base my statements, so far as possible, on the descriptions given by these writers, in order to meet the critical assumption that the conclusions to which my arguments seem to point were based solely upon observations made on children who were distinctly abnormal or whose mental tendencies were unusual. The opportunity for control-investigation becomes obviously much better when the statements which are chosen for study under the new light furnished by psychoanalysis are derived from the published results of men who either did their work long before the promulgation of the Freudian doctrines,—men like Tiedemann, Darwin and others,—or by contemporary writers who worked without knowledge of the Freudian views.

[1] The treatment of this third period will be taken up later in a special monograph.

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A STUDY OF THE MENTAL LIFE OF THE CHILD

PART I. THE PERIOD OF INFANCY (THE SUCKLING)

I. The Functions of the Senses in the Service of the Affective Life of the Infant

The *mental life* of the *infant* begins with the reaction to sensations induced by stimulations from without, as well as by those coming from within the body, from the internal bodily organs; and manifestations, on his part, of pleasure and of pain (or pleasantness and unpleasantness) soon occur which enable the adult to recognize that for the child certain occurrences within his environment are already becoming experiences.

Turning the eyes to the sun-lit window, starting at a sudden sound, feeling with lips and hands in seeking for the mother's breast which gives him nourishment—these acts, in spite of their partly automatic, partly instinctive character, are the first signs that the newborn child is taking notice of the surrounding world. In the apperception of these impressions (Eindrücke) by the infant there lies the germ (Keim) of the psychical process. To blinking at a dazzling light, screaming immediately succeeds. Hearing the tinkling of the bells on his sledge induces at once an expression of surprise—one of the most primitive feelings of infancy. A distressed wrinkling of the skin of the face follows scratching the finger-nail upon glass. As soon as the first smile illumines the baby's face the mother loses no opportunity for calling forth on the features of her darling those sunbeams of joy, provoking them by means of all the little tendernesses and coaxing tones to which no normal child remains insensible through the first few months of life. Indeed, even the baby to whom falls but little loving care crows very early, contented on his pillow, when sunlight and wind trace a moving shadow-picture on the coverlet of his bed. Untiringly his eye follows the continual change of figures, and the rhythmic movements of the curtain-fringes in carriage or basket offer the little human being the first incentive to seize some object.

Of all the sensations characteristic of the first period of life there is none that has such great importance for the affective side

of it *as do muscular sensations.* They become an inexhaustible source of pleasure and pain to the infant a few weeks, even a few days, old. "The first feelings of pleasure," writes Compayré,[1] "spring from the systematic (progressive), moderate exercise of the sense-organs, and from the satisfaction of the bodily needs.

Merely to exercise the muscles, whether it be those of the eye or of the arms and legs—even in and for itself—causes the child pleasure,—pleasure of a sort that he was prepared for in advance by his experiences within the mother's uterus, through the movements of his own body, as well as through the mechanical effects of external pressure exerted during the walking and other movements of the mother.

There is a better basis than simple superstition for the popular belief that those children are of especially erotic nature whose mothers during pregnancy have continued sexual intercourse until near delivery. In short there is reason to believe that it is not alone through the direct transmission of mental qualities that a strongly marked sexuality can be established in the infant; it may be induced also through purely physical influences resulting from the shakings of the mother's uterus, a source of stimulation in which a variety of muscle and skin sensations take their rise that have a certain effect long before the infant has reached complete maturity. This physically conditioned, heightened capacity for sexual feelings is observable as well in boys as girls; while, as is well known, the psychic transmission is a crossed one as a rule. If this assumption proves to be correct, then skin and muscle erotism must be regarded as the most primitive form of sexual feeling. Infants certainly take much pleasure in these skin and muscle sensations, as is evident from the fact that even in the very first days children often show a strong desire to scratch. The Scupins[2] report in regard to their little son, that on the very first day he scratched his own face, and on the second day gave his grandmother painful scratches as she bent over him tenderly, and his little fingers struck in with claw-like firmness. In the third month the boy was tearing and scratching his own little hands; in the eighth, it brought him great delight to tousle his father's beard. And the latest form of diversion into which, according to his parents' statement, he threw himself with passionate zeal, was making a grasping movement toward their eyes.

Whatever is practiced passionately always has an erotic under-

[1] Compayré, Die Entwicklung der Kindesseele, p. 133.

[2] E. u. G. Scupin, Bubis erste Kindheit, Tagebuch über die seel. Entwicklung eines Kindes, I, p. 8 und p. 27.

tone; and, as a matter of fact, the infant who finds a source of pleasure in strong muscular activity always exhibits outward signs of emotion, such as increased brilliancy of the eyes, flushed cheeks, and so forth, that are well known to the adult as indications of sexual excitement. Scratching with the fingernails is one of the first acts for which the infant uses his newfound strength, and this tendency, after having been abandoned in the first years of life under the influence of training, often appears again spontaneously as an accompaniment of the sexual act, a time when, in many ways, and in both normal and abnormal (perverse) conditions of sexual excitement, the pleasure-accented indulgences of earliest childhood come to life again. It follows from this reasoning that over and above all the manifestations of personal choice, especially as shown in efforts at avoiding annoying compulsion and restraint, the child must have experienced, in his earliest dealings with the sex-passion, feelings similar to those which make their appearance in the mature person under analogous conditions. The long-lasting influence of the sucking-habit upon sexual development is clear proof of this. It is in the indulgence of this habit, especially in the form of thumb-sucking, that infants find such passionate delight.[3] Children given to the sucking-habit sometimes cultivate kissing,[4] later, as a form of passionate enjoyment, and they may become heavy smokers; also, with baby girls in particular, there develops later a great fondness for nibbling sweets, a habit which dies out, or at least largely falls off, when normal sexual intercourse is taken up. It is a striking fact that in almost all languages a relation is recognized between sweetmeats and kissing, as is shown in the giving to the former of special names, such as: "Busserl," "baiser," "baciucchio" (a dainty common in the vicinity of Milan).[5]

To consider that this habit of pleasure-sucking, whether with reference to his own body or to foreign objects, counts only as a manifestation of an instinct to satisfy the sense of hunger—as so many investigators do—seems not to cover the ground. Also the argument that children immediately stop sucking when full-fed is overbalanced by the fact that even the satiated child[6] sometimes

[3] To describe it the word "*Wonnesaugen*" has been used, a term indicating a state of bliss induced by sucking thumbs, fingers, etc. [Trans.]

[4] Freud, Drei Abhandlungen zur Sexualtheorie. Trans. No. 7, Nerv. and Ment. Dis. Monograph Series.

[5] In English we have "molasses kisses," etc. [Trans.]

[6] "At first we did not allow the boy to adopt the bad habit of sucking a 'pacifier'—instead of doing that, he was fond of sucking his fingers; indeed, he stuck his whole fist in his mouth, even after he had just been drinking (10th week)." Scupin, Tagebuch, I, p. 8.

sucks for hours on the rubber nipple and other contrivances of ingenious nurses, with contented expression of face, and begins to scream and cry the moment the "pacifier" (Schnuller) slips away from him. He is just as well satisfied if he can carry fingers or toes to his lips, although the feeling of hunger is not stilled thereby. It is through the activity of the erogenous zones—such as lips, fingers, toes—that the infant procures himself pleasure; and since in sucking upon his own body the child not only makes himself independent of the outside world, but also secures a reinforced stimulus of two-fold origin, his pleasure becomes redoubled. It is for this reason that children with these sucking tendencies cling so tenaciously to their habit.

Preyer[7] has recorded the observation that by putting his finger into the mouth of a child whose head had just left the mother's womb, and rubbing the tongue rhythmically, he could excite unmistakable sucking-movements. In this so strongly developed sensitiveness to touch, the first beginnings of the sex-impulse may be assumed to find expression. In speaking of this experiment Preyer says that the child, to judge from the expression of his face, was most agreeably affected. This observation finds confirmation in the common use of a never-failing means of quieting the infant. Nursemaids know very well how their charge stops his apparently causeless crying if they stick a finger in his mouth and in that way excite the nerves of lips and palate by tickling. This is simply a variation of a practice in vogue among unscrupulous nurses, who tickle the child directly on the genitals in order to keep him quiet or to put him to sleep. The Freudian School sees in this habit of finger-sucking (Ludeln) a very early manifestation of the sex-impulse, with reference to which the lips form an erotically marked zone. In the case of my own nephew I have observed repeatedly that as a result of sucking throughout the night his fingers carry, in the morning, the specific odor of the feminine genitals. Several mothers have reported to me analogous observations. This odor must come from the prolonged action (during several hours) of saliva upon the skin of the finger. It seems as if a pleasure derived from a sense of smell was included, in his case, in the pleasure produced by sucking. In fact, in his fourth year, when the attempt was made to keep him from this habit by calling attention to the bad odor of his finger, my nephew replied: "Oh, I like that smell!" Possibly this liking arises from memories of odors associated with

[7] Preyer, Die Seele des Kindes, IV Aufl., pp. 20 u. 65. Eng. trans., "The Mind of the Child."—[Ed.]

the intra-uterine state. This conjecture stands in apparent contradiction to the view of many investigators who deny the infant an olfactory sense during the first days. The greater probability, I think, is in favor of the view that the child has no opportunity during those first days to experience, in its own form, this odor for which he shows such liking, but that something like it is produced, perhaps, by the admixture of saliva, milk, and skin odors. It is reasonable to suspect that the strong significance of the sense of smell in the sexual life of many persons is not to be referred solely to intense anal-erotism in childhood, but also in part to the habit of sucking. In favor of this suspicion the special liking of a great many persons for the Capryl group of chemical substances[8] should be mentioned, since these compounds are chemically related to the secretions of the genital, but not directly to those of the anal zone. For such people the "Capryl group" constitutes a distinct and powerful stimulus of their libido. The frequent habit of very little children of pressing the face into the lap, or into the arm-pit, of an adult seems to be connected with this liking. The same sort of fondness is shown by young dogs and cats, and is not to be explained by the pleasant feeling of warmth, alone; for, in order to press the head into a person's arm-pit, the little animals often sacrifice a comfortable for an uncomfortable position.

Even to the child in the cradle sucking offers an acceptable substitute for almost any pleasure which he desires but which he must renounce. Sucking is a dispenser of comfort in every despondent mood, just as in later years the joys of onanism are frequently sought in times of bitterness and humiliation. In his eighth month Scupin's Bubi used to compensate himself for not being allowed the mother's breast, by sucking the thumb of his left hand, though he continued to emit sounds of dissatisfaction through his nose; until at last, comforted, he would fall asleep. He would not let himself be robbed of this pleasure, and showed anger and opposition as soon as anyone tried to remove his thumb, red and swollen from sucking[9] (ninth month). For the tenth month the report reads: "*Sucking the finger has finally taken the place of crying,* and is, therefore, a sign of hunger as well as of resignation. Now when an object is denied the child, when he should go to sleep, or the like, to comfort himself he sticks his finger into his mouth, and only peculiar sounds sent out through the nose declare his dis-

[8] Capryl group (Kaprylgruppe): Capryl, the radical C_8H_{17} occurring in caprylic acid and other compounds. Caprylic acid ($C_8H_{16}O_2$), a fatty acid with a faint, disagreeable odor, occurring in cow's butter and in cocoanut oil.

[9] Scupin, Tagebuch, I, pp. 27, 29, 35, 42.

satisfaction, his indignation, his pain, in a way not to be misunderstood." And from the eleventh month, "Everything forbidden excites the youngster extraordinarily; his demand for knives, scissors, and table-utensils is very intense; and if all such things are taken from him, sometimes he puts on a touchingly resigned look and calmly sticks his left thumb into his mouth—that thumb which always shows some wounds from self-inflicted bites." The habit which is so extremely common among older children, of putting a finger in the mouth or of biting the nails at times of embarrassment, of shame, often of obstinacy, is to be regarded as a survival of previous finger-sucking; that is to say, even the temporary feeling of unpleasantness demands for its relief the tried and trusted method of excitation of the erogenous zones. It goes with the sexual character of sucking (des Lutschens) that, like the sexual act, it proves an effective means of inducing sleep.

In order to be able to suck her left thumb undisturbed, Shinn's[10] niece, in the third month, preferred to be taken on her mother's right arm; and when so placed she would fall asleep, with every evidence of thorough satisfaction. "In the middle of this month she was given a small, closed rubber nipple, on which she then sucked as she had before on her fingers, and within eight days she had learned to connect the thought of sucking after this fashion with that of falling asleep." In the sixth month, it was seen that the "pacifier" (Saugpropfen) *exerted a really hypnotic influence.* But since the child, as Shinn further records, did not like to go to sleep without the "pacifier," and also the moment it had slipped from her during the night would cry for hours at a time, the mother tried hard to break up this habit, but in vain. "The child must have found its continuance both agreeable and effective. *Perhaps certain particularly pleasant sensations were connected with it.* For twice in the last half of this month, when the rubber nipple was held up before her, she greeted it with sounds of joy and with springing movements of the hands and feet. I have observed the same thing in other babies when they were greeting their nursing-bottle." Shinn adds to this report the correct surmise that the pleasure did not have to do solely with a recognition of the use of these articles as possible sources of nourishment; but she does not carry out her idea any further.

From my observations in the case of my nephew, I can say that

[10] M. W. Shinn, Körperliche u. geistige Entwicklung eines Kindes, bearbeitet von W. Glabach und E. Weber, pp. 399, 401. This is probably the German rendering of "The Biography of a Baby."—Ed.

the whole expression of his face while he is sucking his fingers—a habit which he has practised intensively from the earliest time up to the present (his seventh year)—is, at first, distinctly that of sexual excitement; while a little later, as he gradually falls asleep, it changes to one of comfortable and sensuous relaxation. Toward the end of the first year, he combined sucking on the thumb and third finger of his left hand with simultaneous rhythmic pulling on the bedspread with the fingers of his right hand. I maintain that, with this child, these movements are a substitute for onanistic activity, since the boy, even in his first month, as soon as he was undressed, used to pull hard at his genital organ. The proposition that *infantile onanism* is of regular occurrence has been much disputed, but can scarcely be denied. With boys it often begins early, as a result of the measures taken in caring for the body, and as a consequence of the easy accessibility of the genitals to mechanical excitations; while with girls, on account of the more concealed location of the genitalia, masturbation takes place far less frequently during the period of early infancy. But with them, too, the signs of sexual excitement usually make their appearance, thanks to the senseless fashion of clothing infants prevalent at present. For instance, the so-called "Durchzug," a small linen cloth used for preventing soreness of the thighs, is well adapted to excite the highly erogenous genital zone; and pressing together the upper thighs is a characteristic form of self-gratification to the little girl. But, since mothers and nurses naturally try hard to prevent onanistic acts on the part of the infant, the latter soon transfers the source of pleasure to a more easily reached and a more harmless zone, the mouth; and *takes up sucking as a substitute for the forbidden pleasure.* Hence, sucking stands not only as the earliest form of lip-erotism, but also an early act (Leistung) of intelligence on the part of the infant. One mother reported to me, in regard to her boy, that by the age of seven months he had tried again and again, with sly glances, to masturbate; and that as soon as this was prevented, with strong obstinacy he betook himself to finger-sucking. The all too anxious "breaking" of infant onanism—frequently accompanied by painful punishments (even blows)—may contribute much to the development of *fear* and may lead also to habits of *deceit* and of defiant *obstinacy.*

One of the direct outcomes of the measures used in the physical care of children is the awakening of the pleasure in being naked. Even though the change of temperature is felt as uncomfortable by the child, yet the relief from the cramping of tight

clothes, which comes from being undressed, is so delightful that the other sensation is no longer noticed. It is certainly true that there is no time when a child feels so free to use his muscles as when he is naked; and the tickling contacts of the loosened clothing rubbing against the skin must help to induce the vigorous throwing about of the limbs which still further intensifies his pleasant sense of freedom. This is a sort of stimulus which is, moreover, apt to be increased through repetition, as the child's mother, with anxious solicitude, makes ever fresh attempts to keep him covered from the air. And with all this there come, of course, fresh chances for the child to show his new-found power of resistance to his mother's will by striving to prolong the conditions that he has found so full of pleasure.[11] I have often had occasion to observe with what slyness my nephew, in his eleventh month, fought to be naked and came off victor; how he would watch for the moments when his nurse or mother turned away, in order to shake off the hated coverlet, and to renew the pleasures of sucking his toes or biting any part of his body that he could reach.

Delight in the nakedness of one's own body is one of the first and most evident manifestations of the infantile auto-eroticism. From this source, reinforced by the erotic pleasure which the use of the eye brings to the child, arise the *exhibitionism-tendency* and the spying or *peeking-habit* (Schaulust) of later years. And it is also one of the roots of Narcissism[12] which frequently, even by the end of the first year, comes to light in open, undisguised form. The unfolding of these impulses is greatly furthered by the measures taken in training the child. The command to cease from uncovering himself is too often accompanied by a half-concealed smile on the part of the proud mother or by a spying on the part of other adults who may be present that gives them more gratification than they are quite aware of. There cannot but grow out of this a certain sort of excitement, which is capable of making its appeal even to the smallest child. In a similar way, the playing of a harmless game like hide-and-seek may induce pleasure-accented experiences which connect themselves with any part of the child's body. The following case, observed by me, is typical of many: A ten-months-old boy with whom his mother plays "peek-a-boo," throwing a cloth over her head every time, imitates his mother faithfully in lifting his little shirt high at every "Da Da" on her part, and he does this with joyful screams that are all the

[11] Scupin, Tagebuch, I, p. 4.

[12] Love of self, in a physical and mental sense. [Trans.]

more joyful the more vehement is his mother's cry of "Shame! Shame!" If any doubt could be entertained as to the propriety of ascribing the chief interest in this game, for the child, to the (unconscious) longing to exhibit himself, this should be dispelled when it is known that ever since his birth the little boy in question has been the subject of constant admiration for the beauty of his body; and that even in his sixth month he showed a longing to lie naked before any guests that might call. Educational blunders of the sort indicated by this story are committed more frequently than one would believe possible; and the excuse of parents—that the child is not yet old enough to know better—has nothing more to say for itself in such a case as this than when used to justify any one of the many other careless sins of omission of adults in their treatment of young children.

In proportion as the child gains better control of his young limbs the pleasure in moving them grows greater. *A dawning consciousness of self and an increasing self-confidence*—the outgrowth of infantile auto-erotism—awakens with the first successful attempts at sitting, standing, creeping, running. In regard to this E. and G. Scupin,[13] in the eleventh week of their child's life, make the following note: "For some days past the mother has been teaching the boy to sit up; it goes surprisingly well. These exercises obviously give the child pleasure, and he demands them often by crying and by attempts to raise himself." Again with reference to the sixth month:[14] "A favorite new movement is rocking the upper part of the body; with a truly roguish face Bubi sits in his carriage, bends forward, strikes out with his feet, and springs backward. In this fashion he rocks back and forth untiringly with evident pleasure. One day, sitting on his mother's lap he stretched his little arms toward the metal handles of the carriage, seized them, and then by rocking the upper part of his body backward and forward (occasionally, too, by bending and stretching his little arms) he pushed the wagon to and fro, only helped thus far by his mother, that she yielded to every one of his movements. *While doing this he put on a laughably self-satisfied air, and an expression as of one expecting praise.* This was more marked than anyone would have believed possible. The consciousness of physical achievement, of having performed an act requiring muscular strength, gives just as much delight to the infant as it does to other children; and leads him to reject outside help at a very early age. He likes, however,

[13] Scupin, Tagebuch, I, p. 8.

[14] Ibid., I, p. 18.

to feel that adults are present, from whom help can be obtained whenever his own strength gives out, and who—this is the chief point—will pay him the deserved tribute of admiration. For that reason, the child who is tenderly cared for learns to use his muscles and his special senses much earlier and with less effort than does an infant entrusted to indifferent attendants.

The high degree of fascination which swinging and being rocked in a cradle possess for even the very youngest children is due to the induction of sexual excitement[15] through rhythmic mechanical shaking of the body (Freud). The child finds the rocking-motion of his carriage so agreeable that he is often inspired by it to talk to himself, in baby fashion, while it is going on.[16] Also, the infant's shouts upon being tossed in the air, and the pleasure which he finds in rolling from side to side[17] demonstrate (if taken in connection with the moist brilliancy of his eyes and his flushed cheeks) the sexual undertone of his feelings. This explains the persistent fondness which boys and girls have for swinging of every kind, even if it be only a see-saw on the edge of a chair. One may also see how, on the other hand, many a child's dread and dislike of rhythmic motion in later years[18] is probably to be traced back to an excess of indulgence in this sort of pleasure during early years; for fear is often—as disgust is always—the expression of a reaction against a former—now forbidden—sort and source of pleasure.

Most children show during the second half of their first year of life a striking fondness for fingering very small objects—hairs, crumbs, etc.—a liking such as can hardly be accounted for except on the supposition that their *sense of touch is very highly developed.* Taking hold of tiny objects—which grown persons can pick up only with difficulty—brings obvious pleasure to the infant. Thus[19]

[15] It is, of course, a matter of opinion, and largely a question of classification, what degree of assent this proposition should command. The point to remember is that Freud's view was formed on the basis of a very large experience with nervous invalids whose illnesses were traceable in part to demands for excitement originating in accumulated infantile experiences. [Trans.]

[16] C. and W. Stern, Monographien über die seel. Entwicklung des Kindes. I. Die Kindersprache, p. 82. "At three months of age, whenever Günther is taken out in his carriage he begins 'to tell little stories' even when the carriage-curtains are down. Therefore it is not the effect of the changing views, but it is the movement of the carriage which puts him in a happy frame of mind."

[17] See above, Shinn, pp. 307, 308.

[18] As in car-sickness. [Trans.]

[19] L. v. Strümpell, Psychologische Pädagogik, p. 359.

Strümpell reports that his little eight-months-old daughter took special delight in picking up very small objects such as crumbs of bread, beads, and so forth; and little Scupin, too, so we are told,[20] used to expend a good deal of energy in pulling out single hairs from his parents' heads. "The objects which he took especial pleasure in handling, during his twelfth month, were very minute, being of no interest except from their diminutive size. In a complicated toy the parts that he cared most about were a screw, a knob, a tassel, a little bell; his interest in the carpet seemed to center on a crumb, in the table-cloth on a spot, in the wall-paper (Tapete) on a scarcely visible dot in the design. The great significance of the *nerves of the skin,* for the good health and well-being of the child, is also to be recognized from his behavior in the bath. The delight with which he doubles his little fists, the flourishing of the limbs, all give evidence of an instinctive tendency, observable not only with infants but also with older children and even among adults, to react with pleasure to strong stimulation of the skin. The mild warmth of a tepid bath, the slight resistance of the fluid, may awaken in the infant a dim memory of his life before birth; and this may be one cause that prompts him to assume the prenatal position, with legs drawn up high and arms flexed against the body. Many children continue through years to show a preference for this position in sleep; and the pressing of the folded arms against the breast, such as one sees among children and even grown people when they are listening intently to stories which make them shudder with excitement, seems to me to be a survival from the prehistoric period of the child's life. In a way not to be disregarded or overlooked, the tendency on the part of the infant to have sensations of a sexual nature also manifests itself during the bath, as well as during other attentions found needful in the care of children. That boys, a few days old, show real erections at such times is a daily experience of midwives, and is boasted of to the young mother as a sign of potential virility. One little boy, only thirteen days old, was reported as having wet chin and mouth with a stream of urine; and another baby boy, while having his third bath, showed a strong erection accompanied by symbolic spreading of the fingers. The latter movement was indeed observed by Preyer as occurring by itself, and that, too, when the fingers were dry, so that the spreading could not have been caused by wetness.[21] Preyer continues: "Even on the seventh day the expression of pleasure seen in his

[20] Scupin, Tagebuch, I, p. 46.

[21] Preyer, loco citato, p. 74.

wide-open eyes immediately after the bath was quite different from what it had been before. *No other sense-impression (Eindruck) of any kind is able, at this period, to call forth such an expression of satisfaction.*"

The strong skin erotism of the infant also makes itself evident in his reaction to kisses. Such love-tokens bestowed upon every part of the body are acknowledged with shouts of laughter;[22] but here, too, one becomes gradually aware of favorite zones—such as the neck, arms, legs. It is a striking fact that to kisses on the mouth very little children will respond with sucking-movements[23]—later, with biting-movements, even when as yet there are no teeth; but such children exhibit no feeling of pleasure at these times. Quite often, after the first year, children refuse, for a time, to allow themselves to be kissed. Finally, and as affording further evidence of the existence and importance of this heightened skin-erotism, it is noteworthy that children often show a passive acquiescence, and even exhibit signs of pleasure, when kisses are replaced by gentle bitings. E. and G. Scupin record thus about their little boy in the sixth month: "He stuck his finger into his mother's laughing mouth, whereupon she bit him. Astonished, Bubi raised his eyebrows and looked at her questioningly. When his mother bit once more, he crowed for joy but promptly drew back the little hand. After a short pause, again of his own accord, he stuck his fingers into mother's open mouth, and at the same time looked very expectant. She bit again, and immediately his unrestrained laughter sounded forth."

M. W. Shinn[24] is of the opinion that, to the little child, eating (*i. e.,* sucking), biting, and kissing, all have, at first, one and the same meaning.[25] Certainly not until later does the true, social significance of kissing become clear to him, although it is in the first year more especially that his experience in being kissed (by his mother) is so rich; he accepts kisses as an agreeable stimulation of the skin, but often refuses to give them in return. Shinn and Preyer report the same thing; while Scupin's little son,[26] even in the first month, reacted pleasurably to kisses, in particular to noisy kisses, *i. e.,* kisses with strong local skin excitation. Gentle biting

[22] Scupin, Tagebuch, I, pp. 20, 74, 106; Shinn, l. c., p. 206.

[23] In the active kiss Compayré sees a "ressouvenir" of the lip-movement when nursing at the mother's breast (l. c., p. 98).

[24] M. W. Shinn, l. c., p. 345.

[25] Compare the popular sayings, "She is pretty enough to eat," "I could eat you, I love you so much."

[26] Scupin, l. c., p. 20.

and scratching produce in the very little child not only no pain, but actual pleasure; so that in skin- and muscle-erotism we must recognize one of the roots of *sado-masochism*[27]—in particular, of the *auto-sado-masochism,* far more frequent in the child than in the adult. Tiedemann[28] regards the fact that, in the first months of life, his little son gave himself severe scratch-wounds and blows in the face, as a proof of inability at this stage to distinguish his own body from that of another person's. Preyer, too,[29] sees in the self-infliction of wounds in the case of very young children, simply a lack of independent and thorough self-perception (des Ich-Gefühls). To-day we know from certain reactions of the child that the inflicting as well as the passive experiencing of pain is—under certain conditions—felt by him as a source of sensuous pleasure. Through the union of sadistic and masochistic feelings within one's own body, the opportunity is given for experiencing enjoyment of a two-fold sort, since then the Ego is both subject and object at the same time. This is probably the chief reason why the sadistic (pain-inflicting) activity of the child is directed in the earliest days toward his own person. The pleasure is further intensified through this—that the child takes care not to go, in his pain-infliction, beyond the point set by his power to recognize the pain as pleasure. To speak of another and analogous source of excitation, although the fashion of the present day as regards clothing secures for the infant plenty of chance to move freely, yet the daily wrapping in the bath-towel is an operation that allows for an abundance of agreeable stimulation for skin and muscles. And older children likewise manage through the use of closely fitting undergarments, shoes, and so forth, and by scratching, to provide chances for these stimulations of the skin. Among the auto-sadistic acts of the infant, scratching stands in the foreground as for a while the sole possibility of that sort that his muscular development permits. On the very first day after his birth, the Scupin boy's hands had to be bound up because he scratched his face, and even on that day he resisted the restraint by kicking.[30]

The strong impression which the sight and touch of a brush made upon him in his eleventh month[31] is, as I believe, to be classified as

[27] "Sadism" = the inflicting of pain for purposes of sensuous gratification; "masochism" = the acceptance of pain with a similar end in view. [Trans.]

[28] D. Tiedemann, Beobachtungen über die Entwicklung der Seelenfähigkeiten beim Kinde, p. 10.

[29] Preyer, l. c., pp. 381, 382.

[30] Scupin, l. c., p. 1.

[31] Scupin, l. c., p. 40.

masochism. At least, I observed the same behavior in my nephew at the same age. With a roguish "Prick! Prick!" he tapped very gently on the rather coarse bristles. A ten-months-old little girl acted in the same way toward brushes. Since the child, at such an early age, makes no difference between "animate" and "inanimate," a brush may be assumed to appear to him like a human being by whom he allows himself to be pricked, in this instance, like his mother, to whom he holds out his little hand for the bite, given in fun. The slight pricking evidently causes, in addition to the pain, an agreeable tickling of the skin. There are not a few adults who, without being pronounced masochists, declare that they feel a moderate pain to be, in a sense, pleasant. Aside from the distinctly morbid forms under which masochism and sadism appear in later years, where sensuous pleasure is found in actually tormenting oneself or other people, the existence of these same tendencies is hinted at by various acts, among which I have indicated scratching as the most primitive. As soon as the child's teeth come, he knows how to use them vigorously against himself and against people near him. Thumb-sucking is often united with biting. Not until much later does the child make use of the strength of his arms to give blows, and that of his legs in kicking. Conjoined with the masochistic tendencies of the child there is found, even very early, a demand for sympathy; while, on the other hand, the child of sadistic tendencies shows a wish to be admired, even feared, for his strength. Indeed, mothers and nurses often take the lead in playing with the child a kind of game in which they pretend to feel pain whenever he beats and pulls them. In the sixth month the little Scupin baby clearly showed his sadistic vein; we read: "He strikes at his mother, clutches her nose with his little hands and pulls it." For the eighth month the report is: "His newest passion consists in trying to seize his parents' eyes; evidently it angers him every time they hide themselves behind the eye-lids at the approach of his merciless little hand." In the ninth month: "Without pity his hands scratch our faces so that we cry out with pain. Often during these acts *there comes a truly cruel gleam* in the boy's eyes, his nostrils inflate, and he goes on with the martyring process, such as pulling out single hairs, making grasping movements toward our eyes, pinching us, and scratching us. If someone puts out his tongue, the child claws savagely at it with his nails and screams for joy. His mother's finger learns, through painful experience during the daily cleansing of his mouth, how sharp his teeth are getting, for then he bites

energetically with downright diabolical eagerness."[32] These instances of unconscious cruelty in the child are sufficient to show how strongly this impulse demands an active outlet; how it turns toward the very persons for whom the child's affection is the warmest; and how, at length, upon the impulse becoming gratified, the child's features light up with animation and take on an expression that recalls that of the adult when under the influence of strong sexual excitement. And just as this excitement, with many adults, becomes intensified when the element of physical pain is superadded, so, too, in the case of the child, and not seldom, the necessity is felt of exhibiting the strength of his passionate desires through sadistic acts. For this statement also, a confirmatory passage is to be found, in the Scupin diary,[33] relating to the eleventh month of their son's life and telling of his first acquaintance with a little girl about six months older. While this little girl was looking at him indifferently, the boy's play of features showed extraordinary excitement—interest, surprise, joy, and a deep-seated curiosity. When the little girl, upon seeing him, suddenly said "Dolly!" the very perception that she spoke excited him strongly. For very delight, or perhaps too, in order to imitate her, suddenly he sent forth a flood of indistinct syllables, became more and more excited, *and with a quick exulting cry struck her in the face. Manifestly that was meant to be a caress.* Then he managed in a rough way to snatch a biscuit out of her hands, and after that the doll. Yet it was all done in such a spirit of affectionate playfulness that one could not think of his acts as signifying rage or ugliness of temper. Again, the boy, "O," bit and scratched his nurse's breast until she cried out loudly from pain, whereupon he grew all the more excited. Indeed his finger-nails became very dangerous to the hair and faces of people around him.

I have come to the conclusion, through questioning a number of mothers, that in the first years of life it makes no difference—as regards the liability to sadistic and masochistic tendencies—whether the child is male or female. The concurrent testimony of many observers has established the fact that every sadistically inclined person is also a masochist, and vice versa. But as boys are more aggressive, in a general sense, than girls, with the former the sadistic tendency is pushed more into the foreground. Furthermore, by virtue of being looked on as in fact a masculine attribute, this tendency (which often takes the form of cruelty) is not so ener-

[32] Scupin, Tagebuch, pp. 19, 30, 31.

[33] Ibid., p. 44.

getically repressed, by nurses and attendants, in the little boy as it is in the little girl. Forms of conduct that, in the case of the boy, are regarded as containing the germs of future strength and are rebuked with smiles, are considered, in the case of the little girl, as objectionable indications of an unwomanly character. In spite of his frequently cruel expressions of countenance when performing sadistic (*i. e.,* cruel) acts, the conscious perception of the cruel element in these acts, and therewith the conscious purpose of inflicting pain upon another person, is lacking in the child for a long time. This fact comes out in Scupin's diary,[34] in the following important note from the child's fifteenth month: "Often, because of having to sit still while being dressed or undressed, he kicks angrily or bites his mother in the arm or on the shoulder even through thick clothing and with such force as to cause her severe pain. Several times when his mother called out 'Ow!' *it pleased him so much that he bit himself hard in the arm* and then likewise said 'Ow!' And *when he felt the painful effects of his bite* on his own flesh, he made a very surprised face."[34a]

It would seem that the choice of games by little children is determined to some extent by whether the sadistic or the masochistic tendency predominates. Every attentive observer is aware that even without the aid of adults, healthy children invent little games of one or another sort—and one of their roots lies in the awakening muscle-power which is striving for development. That conscious volition is an essential factor in these early efforts, as always in real play, can be recognized from the satisfied smile on the child's face after success—from the displeased expression that attends repeated failure. All the muscle-groups take more or less part in the activities of play, but more than all the rest those which are concerned in movements of touching and seizing. These movements are often continued until weariness ensues, and they excite in the child's consciousness feelings of pleasure or of pain; if such movements are in part purely instinctive, and arise from the unconscious impulse on the child's part to use the muscles, yet it must be recognized that they supply sources of stimulation which are of the utmost importance for the development of perception through the senses (Sinnesempfindungen). The playful turning of the head from side to side at the sound of a noise, whether it be the bells of the sledge or the voice of the mother who lures the first smile

[34] Scupin, Tagebuch, I, 62.

[34a] The mother of a certain little boy had to bite *him* to stop his biting other people. He never had known how it hurt to be bitten. [Trans.]

from the child by means of her "Peek-a-boo" ("Da-Da!"); the stretching and straining of the little fingers toward the fringes on the carriage-curtain;—all such movements and efforts provide the little human being endless delight and are happy play to him. And from play he gains his first experiences in regard to things in his environment; he learns to distinguish his little self from the outside world through the varieties of feelings, sometimes painful, which it brings to him. Slowly but inevitably are formed the concepts (Begriffe) of large and small, round and square, near and far. And all these new perceptions are accompanied by pleasure or by pain. The child remains indifferent to whatever does not affect him in one of these two modes of feeling; and in seeking to reproduce or to escape these feelings, as the case may be, he demands so frequent a repetition of the occurrences of daily life that at last almost any kind of a change in them, however slight, is felt at first as an impression, then as an experience. In the first period of life sense-impressions must have a certain intensity in order to be perceived at all; in short, they must be powerful enough to excite either pain or pleasure. But even to direct the attention toward something is a source of pleasure to the infant—a pleasure which, to be sure, dies out before long on account of his liability to grow weary.

The first place among all the sense-organs, as dispenser of pleasure, belongs to the *sense of taste*. That I have not spoken of it until now has been for this reason—because in the service of play it is not utilized until relatively late. For the habit of sucking, whether on one's own body or upon some foreign object, concerns far more the gratification of the erotic functions of the skin and mucous membrane than those of the sense of taste. This latter sense is drawn first into relation with play when it becomes conjoined definitely with the *sense of smell*. First to smell a flower and then to taste it (eat it) seems to the child the natural sequence of events, of course. But with the development of the sense of smell, the child's interest awakens in his own "defecation products." This is an interest which no child is without, and one which (as long as the particular child in question has not learned to feel disgust) not seldom becomes pronounced coprophilism (Koprophilie). Infants with this tendency instinctively like to choose their own time for having their bowel-movements, and show an astonishing cleverness in availing themselves of the very moment when nurse leaves the room, although before that they had let themselves be urged in vain to perform their task. No cross words, no punishments keep the little offender from soiling hands, face, and clothes in a play so full

of pleasure; occasionally, too, it happens that he brings his soiled hands to his mouth and thus discovers a new taste that gives him a special sort of gratification which he signalizes by the movements of his lips. A little later it may happen, obviously as the result of a double impulse both to give up and to maintain his interest in these bowel-excretions, that a process of *shifting,* or *substitution,* takes place in the infant's mind; as the outcome of this process, he begins to decline certain dishes like green and brown vegetables, eggs, etc., which from their color and consistency remind one of feces—and he does this while still retaining his coprophilic habits.[35] Thus my little nephew, who became a pronounced coprophilist very early and remained such until the end of his third year, began suddenly even in his eleventh month to show a decided disgust at spinach and other dark-colored vegetables. It is a fair guess that his nurse-maid, who it is true had had much to endure in consequence of this tendency of her little charge, had punished him in the way employed when dogs and cats are "house-broken." At any rate the sudden change in the little fellow's food-preferences was decidedly suspicious, and the boy's comments at a later period strengthened this suspicion. Eggs, for example, which he ate during his first year with almost greedy pleasure—his gaze fastened intently on the egg-cup—he began all at once in his twelfth month to refuse. Little "O" behaved in exactly similar fashion in his third year.

In close connection, as a rule, with coprophilism, stand *anal* and *urethral erotism.*[36] The emotional interest thus designated does not take on, at first, the somewhat elaborate self-conscious form that it assumes later; but it appears, nevertheless, even in the first months of the infant's life, in the shape of a wilful holding back of the feces; while, on the other hand, definite indications of pleasure are often given when the evacuation does take place, but at the wrong time. It is also noteworthy that these signs of pleasure are altogether different from those that simply indicate the natural relief from tension that attends a bowel-movement; for in the latter case there is none of that mischievous expression on the infant's face, none of that glancing around to detect the reaction of the by-standers to what is going on, none of that behavior so characteristic of the former situation. Even the cry which summons nurse or mother sounds quite different when the excretory-act is performed

[35] This sentence has been amplified somewhat, from the original, to make its obvious and important meaning clearer. [Trans.]

[36] Sadger, Über Urethralerotik, Jahrb. f. psycho-an. Forschung. II. For abstract see p. 114.

at the proper time, as a normal phase of the digestive process, from what it does when the feces are purposely "held back" by the child. When this happens he does not break into the plaintive crying which betokens the wish for help out of an uncomfortable situation, but gives a cry as it were of victory, indicating at once joy and wilfulness, a cry that says: "See what I have succeeded in doing!" One might say that the thinking faculty (intellect) of the child was being considerably overestimated in attributing to him such complicated thought-processes; but that they actually occur, that the facts are as stated, is proved by the countless mischievous tricks, of even small children, along these lines. Thus my nephew, at the age of eleven months, knew well how to take advantage of his great-aunt in summoning attention to his bowel-needs by means of the call "Ah-ah!"; but as soon as she had made the necessary preparations, he would run away into a distant corner of the room, and as he went he would give a teasing, merry "Na-na!" Such happenings are among the daily experiences in every nursery, and no observing mother mistakes the intention of the child thus to get the better of her. The mental powers of the infant, feeble though they are, are just strong enough to utilize all the various processes which go on within his little body as materials for pleasure and for play. The events that mark the taking and digesting of food, and the multiform operations incidental to the care of the body, provide abundant materials and chances for securing gratifications of these sorts, and the infant's absorption in them gives an adequate explanation for the indifference which he sometimes shows to impressions from the outside world.

II. The First Signs of Volitional Activity

We have seen how strongly the psychic life of the infant is influenced by the functional activities of his little body, and how these processes are attended by a sense of pleasure or of discomfort, as the case may be. Having recognized this to be so, we cannot be surprised that the child seeks, consciously or unconsciously, to reproduce the experiences which brought him pleasure, and to ward off those which he felt as limiting or painful. These forms of reaction, instinctive and impulsive in the beginning, become the basis of volition, as soon as the growing intelligence learns to connect perceptions that are at first isolated with ideas having a conscious goal. The child responds to a stimulus not by "conscious will" but by action. To will means to act. While still without the power to make known his will in plastic speech, yet through

screaming, crying, seizing, touching, and kicking he is able to give expression to his needs.

The first movements and actions which one sees the nursling perform (usually in the second quarter of his first year) with definite signs of thought may be regarded as the most primitive expressions of activity of the will. The movements which are most significant, as corresponding to this first stage in the development of "will," are those through which the child instinctively resists the measures that are used for the care of his body. The will of the infant is at first self-will, in the narrowest sense of the word. Whatever he is obliged to do or to refrain from doing, contrary to his desire, the young child feels as a disagreeable limitation of the freedom of his budding personality—a limitation calling for vigorous resistance. The first expressions of the infantile will take, then, the form of negation, of refusal to do the will of those around him. So true is this that even after the will has long since shown itself in a constructive form, the negatory tendency is retained as obstinacy, as defiance, even as an intentional working of harm to others.

These views, according to which the child's will is first manifested in the form of dumb opposition, afford also an explanation of the fact (confirmed by all students of child-life) that the first movements of the head which children make are those that are properly called head *shaking* rather than nodding; and that the word "No" is used before "Yes." For the child, "No" is, first of all, the expression of unwillingness; it is an unmistakable expression of voluntary choice, as is clearly shown by the general tendency to double the word ("No, no"). This protest of the infantile nature against every form of control is so powerful that, as an additional means of expressing opposition, gesture soon becomes supported by words. The importance of the rôle which thus falls to the resistance-tendency, in its effect upon the development of the child, is made clearly apparent by the study of children's dreams in which unfulfilled wishes of the day find fulfilment. A remnant of this tendency survives in the habit, obtaining among many adults, of always beginning a remark with "No."[1]

Even in his first year of life the efforts which the child is forced to make in suppressing his own will are so prodigious that it is not to be wondered at that they give place, now and then, to temporary outbursts of passion. In other words, the restraints which the in-

[1] This is much more common in Germany than in English-speaking countries. [Trans.]

fant is compelled to put upon himself in submitting to the measures taken for the care of his body, especially when these seem to him unnecessary, induce a hampering sense of limitation and of strain, and a slight provocation is then enough to bring on outbreaks of rage before which the parents stand perplexed and helpless. If an affectionate compliance with the child's first voluntary impulses was more often substituted for an attempt to suppress them (which so frequently springs from purely egoistic motives) not only would the later training be made easier, but many a danger to the child's mental development would be deprived of seed and soil. It is an important matter for the building of character whether the will is felt as more or as less free. When mothers brought face to face with the unyielding obstinacy of a three, six, or ten-year-old child, whom they were unable either by severity or by kindness to master, finally excuse their failure by saying that he was just as wilful in the cradle, they not only give a correct statement of the facts, but likewise make the admission that at that period, when the child was scarcely a year old, the right way of education was missed, in favor of either ill-timed severity or excessive coddling.

The latter mistake is made mainly in the case of the first-born or of the only child, who then, as a result of the exaggerated solicitude with which he finds every demand fulfilled, soon learns to pose as a tyrant over the whole household. On the other hand, in families where there are many children, a lack of affection on the part of the parents is apt to be felt, especially by the late and unwelcome arrivals. This lack may not manifest itself through outward neglect but in less obvious ways, and yet may make a life-lasting impression on the child. Too often his voluntary efforts are nipped in the bud, or his manifestations of rage and obstinacy suppressed with too strong a hand, by his parents, unaware of the danger to which the development of the child's character and his future relation to themselves are thus subjected. The father who boasts that his child has been obstinate to him only a single time and, after having received punishment, has never again dared to oppose his will, fails to realize the fact that on that occasion he may have laid the foundation for a permanent estrangement between himself and his child.

Such an evaluation as this may be regarded as implying an overestimate of the infant's power of thought. But when one considers how distressing the memory of the first severe punishment must be, since the result is to make the child give up his will to that of the father; when one thinks how great a struggle and self-conquest

it must cost the mite of humanity to subject himself unconditionally, and without a protest, to his father; then one cannot but recognize in such a piece of suppression—far transcending that which the child could accomplish spontaneously—the true cause of many a strange and deplorable fate. It is only when free activity of the will is allowed to the child, so far as the well-being of his body and soul (broadly interpreted) permits, that the conditions are created for a happy unfolding of the little creature's capacities.

In the nursery where love and understanding reign, simply to forbid is enough; and in the first year of the child's life, this should be limited to matters of purely bodily concern. The hard words "You must" should remain unknown to the child as long as is practicable. Fortunately, in respect to the very little child, nature has set a limit to the effect of this command, in leaving him incapable of understanding its full meaning and with a physical inability to fulfil it.

Ambition, educationally one of the most important impulses, acts as a powerful stimulus to the will, even in earliest childhood. It is not solely the pleasure in muscular activity that causes the infant to strive so tirelessly to stand, to creep and walk; another spur to his efforts is the longing to be admired, to win the attention of his environment. How impressive are the eager efforts with which the child raises himself to his full height on his nurse's arm! How proudly and with what elation does he accept recognition and praise of his strength! Is it not obvious that a half-conscious purpose enters into his attempts to reproduce the situations through which his vanity is flattered? It is just to that end that he performs before his little public and apportions his love-favors and bestows the tokens of his affection according to the degree of admiration paid him.

The following experience is typical. It is about a little peasant girl of ten months, with whom an elderly lady spending a holiday in the country is ready enough to occupy and thereby to amuse herself. The child first lifts her arms to attract attention, then creeps nearer and strives with never-wearying persistence to raise herself erect, in response to the lady's admiring challenge, "Ella is as tall as this—as this," indicating the point with one hand. Thus the baby makes her first independent efforts at walking, reinforcing them by constantly demanding the lady's praise by casting inquiring glances in her direction.

Occurrences of this sort, which may be seen daily in homes where careful attention is given to the development of the children,

deserve especial mention because such acts show how instinctively the love of admiration is rooted in the child's mind, even when the mother's solicitude has been confined to what is essential in meeting the child's bodily needs. The retarded development of powers of mind and body in the case of children who lack loving and intelligent care during the first months of life, is to be attributed to a late awakening of ambition.

The opportunities for progress through imitation open a broad field for activity to the child's will; but real success on these lines demands such a high degree of intelligence that I shall defer further consideration of this matter to the chapter devoted to the development of the intellect.

III. The First Signs of Development of the Intellect

The eye, "the mirror of the soul," makes it possible for the attentive observer of that marvel of creation, the newborn child, to recognize the first slight stirrings of the infantile intellect (Verstand). These stand in the service of those primitive impulses of the human soul, hunger and love, taken in the broadest sense. Just as hunger (demand) for food and air awakens in the child the first associative reactions, so does the need of affection, and its satisfaction through the mother, awaken the beginnings of recognition. Joyfully the infant follows the mother's preparations to nurse him; and his power of making fine distinctions is shown by the fact that the same service by another person leaves him indifferent. Before long he knows the place which the mother takes when she offers him the breast. In the same way the artificially nourished child fastens his gaze upon the bottle as soon as it is filled with milk. That the child becomes excited at the sight of the breast or of the bottle is proof that an associative process comes into play. Tiedemann reports[1] that his little son, at the age of two months, stopped crying as soon as he was placed in the position for nursing and his face was touched by a soft hand. The fact that here the child was governed by an associative process of elementary form was shown by his feeling after the breast. Observations by both Shinn and Scupin agree in the account that they give of this early associative thought-process.

Since for the child the evacuation of the bowels is just as pleasurably emphasized as is the taking in of nourishment, one must conclude that the former process is present to his mind as a matter of

[1] D. Tiedemann, Beobachtungen über die Entwicklung der Seelenfähigkeiten beim Kinde, p. 9.

real interest; and indeed it is evident that thought-associations connected with both processes are present very early in life. Thus, my nephew, at the age of eleven months, to the great amusement of the company at table, when he saw a white soup-tureen, the two handles of which he failed to notice, evidently remembering the night-vessel upon which he was accustomed to relieve his need, called out joyfully "Ah-ah!" A little girl of seven months, who, on account of constipation, was frequently given an enema, came to associate this process very closely with a certain folded piece of Mosette-batiste (Mosettig-Batist), so that the sight of it always brought on a severe fit of screaming and crying.

These early thought-associations (Begriffsverknüpfungen), connected with the taking of nourishment and the movements of the bowels, make such a lasting impression by virtue of the emotional tone by which they are so strongly marked, that even when apparently forgotten they retain their place in the unconscious mind; and with the growing child they are likely to find an outlet in the seemingly unmotivated outbursts of laughter for which school children are so often reprimanded, as if for intentional disturbances of order.

The desire for light and air also gives ample opportunity for definite associations, such as Preyer, Shinn, and Scupin cite in great number. The pleasurable satisfaction of this demand, this hunger, is expressed in shouts of joy when the child is carried to the sunny window, or as soon as he sees preparations being made for going out of doors.

The routine of daily life, the frequent repetition of definite acts at the same hour of the day, prepare the way slowly for the formation in the mind of the idea of "time"; and this takes place long before the adult would suppose an accurate conception to be possible. In his eleventh month my nephew connected quite correctly, after a week's experience, his leaving the garden at nine o'clock in the morning with the meal that immediately followed, namely, with an egg; so that as soon as that hour arrived and he was placed in his carriage, he cried out delightedly, "Ei-Ei (egg-egg)!" In the afternoon, on the contrary, at the sight of his little cap, he called out "Bah-Bah!" When his mother, in order to test his power of making the correct distinction, offered him an egg one afternoon, the child rejected the offer, just as he had turned away in the morning from a proposed ride (Bah-Bah!). That the feeling of being satiated had not influenced his refusal is shown by the fact that he was accustomed to have a certain quantity of milk given him before going out to ride.

As a second source of infantile mental activity (Geistestätigkeit) I have indicated "love." It is a well-known and obvious fact that the person whom the child first learns consciously to recognize is the one who is occupied most intensively with his care, the one who is concerned daily and hourly in providing for his needs. He recognizes such a person from certain distinguishing signs which through frequent repetition have made an impression on his mind. This act of recognition is shown, for example, in his smiling pleasantly on his mother, or exclaiming with joy at the sound of her voice in another room.

The love-plays which mother and child invent create for the latter a series of thought-associations of the greatest significance for later childhood. Indeed, they are of significance for the whole of life, since, as unconscious memories, they help to mould the love-life of the adult, and serve as one of the main sources of origin of that whole group of habits (Lebensgewohnheiten) which differentiate the individual from the genus. The helplessness of the mite-of-humanity is the condition which accounts for his exceptional position (in the family). And before long he makes use of his advantage; for he has enormous need of love. Very soon he learns that screaming and crying bring an end to the tedium of loneliness. And he employs these means not solely when physical discomfort suggests the need of an affectionate attendant, but as an artifice through which he may secure the companionship which he desires. The first definite signs of his being attracted toward other people come into existence along the path of his intellectual development. Indeed that is the *conditio sine qua non* for it. This statement is not out of harmony with the proposition just now advanced, that love is one source of certain sorts of mental processes. Intellect and feeling stand in such close relationship to each other in the very little child, that with him each new acquisition in the one realm brings a gain in the other. The more rapidly the intellectual powers unfold, the more intensively does the life of feeling (Gefühlsleben) begin to stir within the child—a mode of progress in development (Entwicklungsgang) to which pedagogy does not always turn proper attention. Side by side with feelings of sympathy in the child, feelings of antipathy likewise become manifest. They also prove themselves to be the outflow of the need of love; for they are directed primarily toward people from the hands of whom the child has experienced pain, has met with a refusal of the love demanded—love taken in its fullest meaning. For example, the unpleasant experience of vaccination sometimes causes the child

not only to dislike the doctor who vaccinates him, but other persons instinctively associated with him, through being of similar appearance. I have known a little girl of ten months, who had been vaccinated two months before by a doctor wearing a handsome full black beard, to run away screaming from her own dark-bearded father on his entering the room after a considerable absence. My own nephew shows an aversion toward men with black beards, which seems to lead back to a similar experience and which has lasted up to his fifth year. The emotional character of the original experience was so strong that it produced illusions of recognition. The antipathy of many children toward cats seems likewise to depend upon associations formed in very earliest childhood. My sister transferred to cats her antipathy toward a doctor who, in her tenth month, came, dressed in dark furs, and examined her throat by the finger. Even when four years old she burst into loud screaming at the unexpected sight of a cat. The doctor's gait, a gliding one, intensified this association.

The power to "recognize" is materially aided by another instinct of importance for education, namely, curiosity. The small child wishes to see everything and hear everything. As soon as the first fear at the sight of something which is new has been overcome, the child finds pleasure in using all his senses in studying it. This curiosity directs itself, in the natural course of events, to all the measures which are adopted for the care of the child's body, those, especially, which are associated in his mind with anticipation of a pleasurable sort; hence, for example, the intent listening whenever the bath-tub is filled or emptied, an event which clearly carries an undertone of sexual interest. Shinn, Scupin and Preyer all tell of the marked pleasure which the gurgling of the bath-water gave to the children under their observation. When one considers that this form of interest occurs just at the time of the early training (Dressur) having relation to bodily needs and habits, the enjoyment is adequately explained. The great importance which parents and nurses attach to the excretory act does not remain unnoticed by the child, largely because while that is taking place he quite often earns words of praise to which his vanity is by no means insensible. But since the act in itself is without meaning for the child, and remains removed, to a considerable extent, from perception through his senses, his curiosity turns naturally to the results of the act. The surprise and self-satisfaction expressed in his face on first beholding his own "defecation products" makes it easy to suppose that the first idea of an independent creative power now dawns within the child's mind.

One of the very foundation-pillars of early education, indeed of the all-around psychic development of the child, is the impulse to imitate. It is difficult to say when this first appears. Beyond doubt imitative acts have been observed as early as in the infant's seventh month. They presuppose acts of will and of comprehension (Verstandesakte). It is these that lead the child to make those comical gestures which impress the onlooker as so irresistibly amusing, because there comes to light in them the contrast between the adult act, performed consciously and with a knowledge of the goal sought, and the seemingly purposeless acts of childhood. We see unrolled before us, as it were, in its full ludicrousness, the incongruity between the manifestations of mature understanding and the activity of the infant, which is characterized by ceaseless and automatic repetition. I have not been able to persuade myself that the young child is conscious of the comicalness of this situation, as some authors maintain. The child who, when scarcely a year old, puts on his father's hat, does this with the utmost seriousness; and it is with the same seriousness that he distorts his face in front of the mirror into laughable grimaces, in imitation of his elders. As soon as he begins to laugh, even the interest in the imitation becomes lost, in great measure. The more exact the imitation, the more it becomes a serious occupation for the child. This is the first form of the infantile wish to be "big," to be "grown up," of which I will speak later in another connection. This imitation impulse is of the greatest importance for the intellectual development of the child. Without that it would be impossible to teach him to speak; and by means of it we are able to direct the child's attention to the manifold events of daily occurrence. He learns to imitate the noise of running water, the whistling of the wind, and a hundred other sounds. Through the same means he learns to use his toys in the right way, and also to keep himself from injuries of various sorts.[2] Nor does the affective life remain entirely uninfluenced by this imitation instinct. During early life expressions of apparent sympathy with other people, taking the form of laughing or crying with them, are simply acts of imitation. And such manifestations first become "emotionally-toned," in a pleasurable or unpleasurable sense, through the associations which the child has formed in other ways. This principle is illustrated still more clearly in later childhood by the infectious laughter of whole classes at school.

[2] A child (known to the translator), nearly four years old, burned her face with her own play flat-iron which she heated on the stove and tested against her skin, as she had seen her grandmother do.

The early imitative attempts at speech (Lallversuche) are to be regarded as one of the earliest achievements of the infantile intellect, except in so far as these attempts are solely the expressions of pleasure, as Stern[3] found them to be in the case of his little son, Günther, when taken out to drive, in his fourth month. As soon as it is shown to be the manifest wish of the child to make himself intelligible to his environment by means of simple sounds or syllables, or to imitate anything spoken to him, there is present for us an effort of the infantile intelligence. The careful consideration of this point leads on to one of the most important chapters in our further study of the child's mental development, that which concerns itself with the development of speech.

IV. The Beginnings of Speech

So many excellent publications are already in existence which occupy themselves with the speech of childhood that I shall attempt to throw light upon the subject only where supplementation of some special sort is needed. In none of these works is there to be found even a hint of the tendency, on the part of early word-formations, to connect themselves with the physiological arrangements, and the organs that serve them, which are just as needful for the further well-being of the body as are those that are concerned with the taking in of nourishment. Stern writes,[1] indeed, as follows: "The child selects his environment and his interests from the childish point of view (pädozentrisch) . . .," and again: "The fact that Hilda, in designating her activities (giving names to acts), also proceeds pädocentrically, is shown in her naming first of all only such acts as she herself performs and likes to perform." Yet, in spite of this, neither in the works of Stern, nor in those of other investigators of child life are there to be found any comments to indicate that sounds or syllables are chosen with reference to the processes above mentioned. But since we have no reason to assume that these processes were unattended by feelings of pleasure to the children under observation, and therefore failed to excite their interest; and since there is just as little ground for believing that the training to which they were of necessity subjected was effected without the use of words, the only explanation of the apparent abnormality of those children is that all objectionable expressions were carefully struck out—not, indeed, from the child's speech, but from the scientific studies based on the observation of

[3] C. u. W. Stern, Die Kindersprache, p. 82.

[1] C. u. W. Stern, l. c., pp. 179, 180.

it. For how different from these descriptions is the reality of the nursery! My nephew's stock of words, in his twelfth month, comprised four syllables, "Ei (egg)"—"Ah-ah!"—"Bah-bah!"—"Na-na!"—which corresponded to the chief interests of his young existence; namely, to eating, digesting, sleeping and going out of doors, and to making known his will. Why, indeed, should the little child, who cannot be assumed to be governed by esthetic principles, allow of his own will those visible signs of the nutrition process (Stoffwechsels) to go unnoticed, those processes which from the earliest days have been the cause to him of pleasure or pain, praise or blame, according to his success and prompt compliance in relation to them? The Scupins alone record in their diary, in regard to their little son, that from the very beginning he exhibited a lively interest in all the functions of his body. In showing this interest the little fellow certainly did not differ from all children who have been studied in the past and will be studied in the future. To every child the act of attending to his own natural needs brings satisfaction; and not only is this true of the act itself, but the products of the act are likewise a source of pleasure. Whatever occupies the child's thoughts intensively and enduringly, for that he seeks a name; and that name, of course, is never missing in any nursery. Perhaps the largest or earliest acquired part of the very little child's store of sounds and words is that group which springs from anal—and urethral—erotism. For spontaneous lalling (*lallen, i. e.,* repetition of apparently meaningless sounds), and the earliest attempts at speech represent primarily the activity of the infantile will in the interests of pain and pleasure; and these expressions of feeling, in their turn, are connected, to a large extent, with the process of digestion, are bound up with it, as it were. Of course the supreme importance of the second root of speech development, imitation, should not be overlooked in this connection. But here again, at this period of life, the need mainly at stake is that of providing bodily functions with names.

In addition to this rudimentary speech (das Lallen) there comes the entire scale of tones of tenderness with which every mother loves to give her child pleasure, to sooth him and to put him to sleep, tones which perhaps she unconsciously draws from vestiges of memories of her own primordial period of existence. Devoid of definite meaning as these tones apparently are, they form a language full of love and logic, a language which constitutes a true bond between mother and child. Perchance there lies a profound significance in the faltering speech of the boy, who whenever he was unhappy

called for "Ma-ma," and whenever he was in a cheerful state of mind summoned "Da-da." In every time of woe it is, indeed, the mother who first hastens to her child, comforts him and helps him out of trouble, while the father (in the first infant "Lallen" often called "Da-da"), for the most part, frolics with the child and therefore represents for him the mood of active cheerfulness. The fact that children frequently hold fast so long to their first-year baby talk, and, furthermore, that it tends to return in adult life in moments when affection is felt at its highest, gives evidence of the need of love—love as conceived in the very earliest childhood—a need then poorly expressed in words but shown by means of gestures and seemingly senseless sounds. The further fact—really undeniable—that every experience which makes an impression upon the child in a sensual or erotic sense also contributes to the enlargement of his vocabulary, is unfortunately thrust aside as unimportant.

A special significance belongs to the child's monologues, and to his echo-speech (Echolalie). The former, appearing as they do, linked with definite situations, clearly show their relationship to the emotional life (Gefühlsleben). Monologues are indulged in by almost all children while they are being gently rocked in the carriage, or else during swinging-movements on the arm of the mother. They have also been observed as expressions of anger and disappointment. In such cases the monologue is a substitute to the child for the expressions of love which were denied him, contrary to his expectation—the principle being the same with relation to that of the sucking-habit, as above noted; the activity of the muscles gives him so much pleasure that he soon forgets the thing he originally desired, or, in other words, he abandons it. For my little nephew, during the period between his seventh and thirteenth month, certain combinations of syllables, unwearyingly repeated (ä bä bä—bä bä rrr), formed a sort of defense-reaction (Abwehrreaktion) against the pressure brought on him to cease onanistic acts. Sully fittingly characterizes the strongly accentuated feeling (Gefühlsbetonung), or emotional tone, associated with lalling: "The child hears the self-produced sounds and they please him."[2] From that moment the child continues the lalling for the pleasure which it gives him. The germ of such a pleasure-seeking "Lallen" consists in repetition of the same sound. The child thus shows that he has arrived at the stage of echo-speech in which, in addition to muscle-movements experienced as agreeable through their frequent

[2] J. Sully, Untersuchungen über die Kindheit; deutsch v. Stimpfl, p. 113.

repetition, a new pleasure-producing stimulus is found in the rhythm. At the same time the imitation-instinct is given an opportunity to show itself. Together with these early speech acquisitions, undisguised tendencies to Narcissism of an infantile form are clearly and vividly apparent. A little peasant child, Ella, who, in her tenth month, was first stimulated to attempts at lalling, through the well-meant attentions on the part of an elderly lady, repeated the imitated syllables not only indefatigably, but with signs of pride and satisfaction. The Scupin records contain similar statements about the impression made by the echo-speech of their child upon himself. The "arch smile" before the attempt, "the comically important mien" during the same, prove beyond doubt how intensively the affective life is influenced by early intellectual performances of this sort.[3]

V. The Development of Ethical Feelings

Long before it is possible for the infant to express his emotional life in speech, gesture and mimicry betray to us the awakening of feeling. In this way, quite early, the child is able to express his likes and his dislikes. Just on account of his inability to communicate his thought in definite form, at this stage of life, we are often left entirely in the dark as to why the child feels himself drawn toward one person, while another excites in him a feeling of antipathy. The deepest and most important reason for this probably lies in an unconscious comparison which he is impelled to institute between each new person and *that first person*—the mother, as a rule—who took care of him in infancy. He seeks in them the same sorts of devoted service, the same voice, stature, even the same movements that he had learned to associate with her; and the impression of strangeness that forces itself upon him in the presence of persons previously unknown inclines him to regard them as something not only new but hostile (Neomismus). Freud has shown, also, that the habitual choice of an object of special love, on the part of a man, is determined by the fact of his childish affection for his mother, by her personal characteristics; and the same principle holds good, in the woman's love-life, with respect to the person of her father. The peculiar place of father and mother in the inner emotional life of the child is conditioned by the circumstances of the family life. The explanation of the striking fact that even in children who have passed their earliest childhood far

[3] Scupin, Tagebuch, I, p. 33.

away from the parents, there often develops a passionate love for one or the other of them, is of a twofold sort. In the first place, the infant never receives from stranger-attendants such a large measure of affection as from his own parents, and so never as much of it, when they are absent, as his own need of love would prompt him to desire. Furthermore, the growing child feels this lack, doubly if he sees other children of his own age unfolding and blossoming in the love-warmth of their own family circles. There is no contradiction, in principle, between the picture here given—that represents the child's first impulses of affection as turning toward his parents—and the Freudian conception according to which the period of infancy is one of pure auto-erotism. For to the child his own personality is the central point about which there revolves everything that happens, everything that is experienced, everything that is felt; and therefore, naturally, he directs his young love to those persons who from the beginning devote themselves to his care. The selection of a love-object is effected without detriment to his conception of the world as centering on him; indeed, it is a result of this conception. But whenever the child is given less love than his needs require, he tends instinctively to seek compensation by turning his thoughts toward himself. The egocentric tendency of the affective and the intellectual life (Gefühls-und-Geisteslebens) of the infant is deepened through the over-measure of parental affection, and this egocentric impress frequently appears, even in the second half of the first year, as obvious jealousy. At eight months of age Tiedemann's little son fell into a state of highest excitement when his mother, for a joke, placed a strange child at her breast.[1] At this stage of life the child feels himself already so closely (intimately) connected with the mother who serves as his source of nourishment, and yet more of pleasure, that he will not relinquish possession of her. Perhaps it is in this relationship that the first mental grasp of the idea of personal property (mine and thine) takes its root. This idea is effectively intensified by the question so often heard, "To whom then do you belong? (Whose baby are you?)" Whatever the child feels as his very own, that he will not give up without strong resistance. But, above all, he will not voluntarily give up his mother's care and love. With this feeling as the starting point, all the little tricks are planned by means of which even the nursling seeks to tyrannize over his mother and lead her to relegate her other household interests to a secondary place. He understands how to find himself

[1] Tiedemann, l. c., p. 24.

obliged to relieve his bodily needs while the grown folks are at meals because people are not paying him particular attention just then, and he wishes to compel it; also he knows how to call his mother to him, by crying hard, as soon as she has gone to rest at night. In all these performances there speaks out clearly the infant's strong craving for demonstrations of affection, and likewise his unwillingness to allow his mother to occupy herself with other matters, instead of devoting herself to him with her entire heart. Even the most unsophisticated mothers understand this perfectly well, as is shown by their frequent complaints: "The moment I go out of the room the little rascal cries."

Not only jealousy, but also anger springs from the child's unsatisfied demand for affectionate attention. Since he is unable to perceive the reason why these attentions which he craves should not be always rendered, any failure to render them implies for him a lack of wish to do so; and to him his outbursts of rage are at the same time a pleasurable exercise of his muscle-power. This is shown by the fact that even after the circumstances productive of the anger have long since passed away, the infant may still continue to rage and kick, until physical exhaustion sets in. Then, too, making the body rigid—which is practised as early as in the tenth month—is an expression of angry obstinacy, as well as of strong muscle-erotism (Muskel-erotik). The Scupins report about their little son, then in his seventh month, as follows:[2] "The child falls into a similar rage if it is decided to place him in his carriage when he wishes to be carried in arms. His whole head grows red from anger; he gives a hoarse cry and makes his little body stubbornly stiff, so that it becomes an actual impossibility to set him down. And when, yielding to this energetic manifestation of his will, the mother was several times moved to let the boy have his own way, and stretch himself out if he liked, it became quickly evident that he had taken in the full bearing of his act; for we observed later that when a strong desire for something came over him, he would suddenly make his body stiff and throw himself backward in a wilful fashion, as if giving a sign from which he expected a definite result to follow. Even in the sixth month he practised this same manœuvre of making the body stiff whenever he became tired of being alone and discovered that he was not receiving the undivided attention of those about him. The parents' report[3] relating to this period describes how the expression of the boy's face

[2] Scupin, Tagebuch, I, p. 21.

[3] Ibid., I, p. 18.

clearly revealed the changing feelings, as of anger, obstinacy, fear, mischievousness (Mutwille), or disappointment, as the case might be, by which he was controlled. The interpretation here given of these movements—*i. e.*, the recognition of them as signs of (unconscious) thinking on the infant's part—contradict's the conception of Preyer, who does not look on them as indications of genuine mental activity, although he does consider them as signs of opposition against being compelled to lie down (Mittel gegen gewaltsames Hinlegen).

When we think of the various ways in which the nursling sues for demonstrations of affection, methods adopted as if consequentially, with that end in view; when we realize how this craving takes on the form, now of tenderness, now of jealousy, now of anger, or again of subtlety (List); and how in moments of wilfulness the unappeased love-craving is likely to fall back, in its search for an outlet, upon some form of erotic satisfaction; then the great importance of the parents' obligations—particularly those of the mother toward her child—becomes clearly manifest. The proper fulfilment of these obligations provides the foundation for the character-development of later years. When love has not been manifested adequately in earliest childhood, the feeling of love often remains deficient throughout adolescence and adult life, together with an enduring longing for this feeling. Every loving glance, every gentle touch which falls to the share of the infant leaves its traces in the memory, in the form of an impression; and all these agreeable impressions weave themselves into a bright background against which the light and dark tones of later life stand out in relief. Even if the adult has no distinct memory of those first months, it is certain, nevertheless, that they have exerted their influence upon his mental development. The impressions then made continue to live, and send out delicate tendrils into dreams of later life, filling them full of earliest childhood-wishes—those dreams which seem to the laity altogether inexplicable and absurd. In his work entitled "The Language of Dreams," Wilhelm Stekel has pointed out how the so-called "nurse-dreams" reach back even into the first year of life. I can confirm this from my own experience. I used to have a very distressing dream which recurred again and again up to within a brief period. It was a dream which appeared to contradict the Freudian conception that a wish-fulfilment lies at the foundation of every dream. I dreamed, namely, that—now in a park, now in a living room—I had to take charge of a young girl who was suffering from nervous cramps. She tried to cling

to me in the most obtrusive manner. The strong excitement which I felt on waking, combined with a depression lasting several hours (as a result of the retained dream-picture of the child's distorted features), seemed entirely to refute the idea of a "dream-wish-fulfilment"; but a thorough self-analysis brought out that the picture of the child was really a picture of myself. As a child of from two to four months, I had suffered from severe convulsions (Fraisenanfällen) as a result of which I screamed without cessation, and therefore was constantly carried around on some one's arm. The surmise is admissible that those attacks were of hysterical nature, either wholly or in part. Through many years, one symptom of such attacks kept fast hold upon me, namely a nervous headache during which I used to roll up the pillow so that my head hung over it, in exactly the same way as in former days when, according to my parents' statement, I used to cry so hard and let my head hang down backward over the nurse's arm. Through this dream my subconscious self sought to be transported to the first weeks of childhood, in the wish to obtain for myself manifestations of affection such as it rarely falls to one's lot to experience, except in days of severe illness, especially in childhood. Since tracing this dream to its infantile root, my night's rest is no longer disturbed—a clear proof of the correctness of the interpretation.

Inasmuch as the helplessness of the child in the cradle always makes each new arrival the center of the family, the position of being an "only child" (a position which becomes so important in the years that follow) plays no pronounced rôle in infancy. The mental development of twin children, on the other hand, exhibits special tendencies which become evident at the very dawn of the mental life and impart an influence which makes itself felt throughout all later years. To the attentive observer, the distinguishing signs of this developmental tendency become manifest as early as about the middle of the second half-year. The most important of these signs, at this time, are outbreaks of trouble based on feelings of jealousy. The operations of nursing and bathing afford to one or the other of the little aspirants for success ample opportunity to protest vigorously against the showing of preference for his mate—the twin-brother or twin-sister—and bring to naught any apparent tendency to give the precedence. Thus I know of two boys of whom the one always had to be carried out of the room while the other was being bathed, since he regarded the care bestowed on his brother as a slight offered to himself. The same boy would not suffer his mother to offer his brother the breast be-

fore he himself had received his own portion from his wet-nurse. Possibly he began, after a little time, to look on the fact of not being nursed actually by his mother as in itself a sign of lack of love, since in other respects she bestowed just the same attentions upon both children. With the other boy there developed toward his brother a pure attraction, free from all jealousy—an attachment which made even a temporary separation of the children impossible. On the whole, the two boys—now seven years old—have retained the same fundamental traits of character that they showed at first; the one little fellow shows an appealing (?) affectionateness, conjoined with a tendency to dependence, while the fondness exhibited by the other is darkened by ever-increasing jealousy. In a similar way, for the most part, the psychic development of female twins is affected.

Twins of different sex behave quite differently from this. With them a pronounced erotic relationship comes into the foreground as early as in the last months of the first year of life. I heard one mother of two such children designate their relationship as a state of being "actually in love" (geradezu verliebt). She had nursed both children herself. At the time when she began to substitute mixed food for an exclusive milk-diet, the boy was never weary of giving his little sister something from each dish before he ate of it himself. One child would not let himself be taken out for a ride without the other child. From the tenth to the eleventh month the boy's love had already put on the character of active admiration, and the girl's affection had taken a submissive attitude—traits which later became considerably strengthened and which soon caused the twins to go on record as "a pair of lovers."

It would be of great value for the better understanding and management of twins, in later years, to have a written record of their early, childhood history to refer to. Such a history would throw much light on the tendency of such persons to show a one-sidedness in their development, a persistent need of having some one to depend on, a shyness and diffidence in temperament, and, finally, on their lack of freedom where it is a question of the bestowal of love, on their part.

One of the earliest, purely egoistic emotions (Gemütsbewegungen) of the child is fear. It is born of intelligence conjoined with imagination (Phantasie). If the former confines itself, with the infant, to the most primitive association-processes, and if the work of the imagination is scarcely perceptible to the onlookers because of the lack of a word-language, nevertheless there must be

present in his consciousness, idea-associations and at least some faintest trace of feeling-perceptions (Vorstellungen), before he can have a sense of fear. It is striking that everything new seems to excite unpleasant feelings in the infant's mind, feelings which express an instinctive apprehension (Ahnung) of possible evil. Next to the fear of novelty (Neophobie), it is fear of the dark that is especially characteristic of the child. But this fear hardly (noch selten) appears in the first year; although it is just at this age that—in consequence of the widespread custom of allowing the infant to share the sleeping-room of his parents—the foundation for the fear is laid. This is something which I will discuss later in detail. Still earlier than the fear of the dark appears the fear of being punished; it lies at the root of the sense of guilt which is so common, and sets in in conjunction with the power of memory. The infant's tendency to shrink in fear from the hand ready to strike him indicates, not alone an instinctive defence, but points to very complicated thought-processes. But the fear of punishment is not without the masochistic component of pleasure (Wollustkomponent). By repeating forbidden acts the child formally challenges punishment for the same. The pain caused him by the blow, which as a rule is scarcely more than a rather hard "love-pat," is frequently felt as but slight when measured against the pleasure derived from the excitation of the erogenous zones that are concerned, the nates and the palms of the hands (Gesäss und Handflächen); the more so that, as a rule, it is only because of the severe expression of countenance and the accompanying cross words (scolding) of the person inflicting the punishment that the infant is able to discover that the treatment which he has received is meant as anything but a display of tenderness; and it is only the recognition of this fact that releases the crying and screaming.

VI. Dreams (Die Träume)

Since speech, the most effective means of making oneself understood, is entirely lacking to the child in the first year of life, or else is employed merely in the form of a few sounds and words used for designating the persons and things in his immediate environment, it is impossible to gain any really deep knowledge of his mental life during sleep. We can only conclude from certain movements and sounds (Lall-Lauten), that even at this stage of development sleep does not pass dreamless. It would be justifiable to regard the movements as reflex and nothing else, if they did not

carry in themselves quite often very clearly the character of something which is "willed." When a sleeping infant is seen to be making well-defined movements, as if for the purpose of grasping objects and feeling of them, and when these movements are accompanied by a smile or by loud laughter, by wrinkling of the forehead as if for crying, or by little sounds of anger—then it may surely be taken for granted that the child is dreaming. When a ten-months-old child who shows such a strong affection for the new nurse-maid that, from her advent on, he will let no one else attend to his bodily needs, and lets out his warning-call of "Ah-Ah!" every day before he wakes, and then is found in a soiled ocndition; it is permissible to see in this performance the same mechanism that determines the "dreams of convenience" of later childhood years. Such an older child dreams, for instance, that the necessary preparations for meeting his wants have been made; and by means of this self-delusion the Unconscious is made to win for the child an excuse for doing something that he is not allowed and would not allow himself to do when he is awake,[1] a deed which draws punishment in its wake. Just so, through dream-license, the infant deceives himself as to the order of his acts in point of time, so that he calls for help only when he has already relieved his needs. I cannot subscribe to the objection that the child, at this early age, has not the intelligence for drawing conclusions so complicated, and that he is waked out of sleep simply by the feeling of being wet and uncomfortable. When one considers how witty the most circumscribed, how imaginative the most matter-of-fact adult shows himself at times, in dreams, one is fully justified in claiming that thought-processes such as we have shown reason for accepting as belonging to the infant's waking-life, are not absent in the dream, just because it shows forbidden wishes as gratified. The wish-fulfilment to which the dream of the adult leads—indeed, even that of the older child—but only by way of long and winding paths, as permitted and mapped out by the censor, appears in an undisguised form in the case of the very little child. While having his afternoon nap, an eleven-months-old boy who had received his first whip, made evident movements as if snapping it and tried with lips and tongue to imitate the clucking-sounds which he had heard from adults under similar conditions, by giving a low "Hit-hit." A little girl just under one year old, who on being taken to the country had

[1] Namely, to pass water, etc., as in bed-wetting. The whole sentence has been slightly amplified. [Trans.]

spent much of her first day in splashing in a watering-trough, repeated those movements during her sleep on the night following, and laughed happily as she did so. Smacking the lips during sleep likewise indicates obviously agreeable dream-thoughts, and probably harks back to the pleasures of the sucking-habit. And since we know that whip-interests point to the presence of sadistic desires and that the great fondness of children for water points to a strongly developed urethral erotism, it is obvious that such dreams as those cited might, if carefully studied, prove a valuable contribution to the subject of dream-interpretation. It may be, for example, that muscle-erotism of high grade could be shown to be perhaps the most important basis for the "stair-case dreams" which appear as early as in the third quarter of the first year of life, as is to be inferred from the jerk-like start of the body and from the anxious expression of the face during sleep. Such a study would probably make it appear certain, also, that during the stage prior to speech, the latent dream-content is seldom without a sexual or erotic motive; and how, with the very little child, the dream-content is really not concealed, but comes to light without disguise, just as experienced and felt. The study of children's dreams would make clear why certain dream-experiences follow us through our entire life with such persistence (Zähigkeit); I refer to the dreams of vast surfaces of water, of plunging headlong down an endless flight of stairs, also to the exhibition-dreams in which the dreamer, lightly dressed or not at all, shows himself in a crowd of people, to his own painful embarrassment. These last-named dreams, indeed, reflect accurately the wishes of small children while asleep. For the close wrapping up to which the infant is subjected before the night begins,[2] is done for the[3] very purpose of preventing exposure during sleep; it is directed especially to keeping the lower portions of the body covered, the head and face being sufficiently protected by the pillow.

[2] And from which *confinement* he longs to free himself. [Trans.]

[3] Here the original text seems to have a tinge of sarcasm as indicated by the words "keinen anderen Zweck"—"um so mehr"—"stets." [Trans.]

PART II

Introduction

Playtime (Die Spielzeit)

The play-period, the golden happy childhood days which poets praise as such a beautiful gift granted to each person but once, goes backward for its very beginnings into infancy itself, but expands to full sovereignty in the years before the child hears the sound of the brazen-toned word, "duty," and becomes aware of its fetters for the first time when he enters the school-room. Playtime weaves its golden threads into the hours when school opens its doors, day after day, and a stream of boisterous child-life escapes from restraint to the sound of shouts of joy. But in the delightful period from the first to the sixth year, the very small child is in the world for nothing else and nothing better than to play from morning until night. Indeed he makes everything subservient to play—the requirements of the nursery, also those which family-life involves. And he carries his childish play-wishes with him even into his dreams, so that he may begin his next day's task in the same spirit when morning comes. Thinking and feeling (Denk- und Gefühlstätigkeit), and every expression of his will, *all* acknowledge the sceptre of play. Everything becomes a plaything to the child. All the events of home-life find their place in the scheme of play, and even the tragedy of sickness and death loses its terror to the child at play.

In his beautiful book, "Die Spiele der Menschen," K. Groos distinguishes between different forms of play, dividing them into (1) play as means of discovery by experimentation, (2) play as a mode of activity for the impulses (Triebe) of the Second Order. In the making of experiments the sensory and motor apparatus are both in action as well as the intellectual powers (faculties), the feelings and the will. Among the kinds of play in which the impulses of the Second Order come into active expression, Groos reckons games of strife, of love, imitative games, and finally games of a social character. We meet with all these variations of play (occurring) as early as in the tenderest years of infancy.

I. The Body and Its Functions in the Service of Play

When the infant is playing, he likes most of all to make experiments upon his own body. During such auto-erotic activity (Betätigung) the body is subject and object (actor and spectator) at one and the same time. No part of the body is so far out of reach but that pleasurable sensations can be obtained from it, and even to the smallest child the aim (object) of play is pleasure. His surprise and curiosity turn into keen joy when he finds, upon feeling his own limbs, that he can make those same members obey his will and that he has in them playthings which no one can wrest from him. Even much later, and long after his body has been sharply differentiated from the environment, the child continues to find in the sensations derived from his body the source of great enjoyment. Then the auto-sadistic tendencies which show themselves even in the first year of life find rich satisfaction in the thousandfold little tortures which each child loves to inflict upon himself, perhaps laughing all the while. He does not account it as a cause of pain to wind a string around one of his fingers until it is blue and cold. He beats himself for fun; he pulls out his own hair and delights in doing so. My nephew, in his fourth year, used to squeeze one foot into an iron coal-rake (Schürhaken) and run around the room in that fashion, laughing and crying out (exclaiming): "Oh! Oh! I cannot bear it!" Also the surprise which a boy not yet six years old prepared for his mother can be interpreted hardly otherwise than as auto-sadistic, when—by means of a string fastened to a door-latch—he pulled out every other tooth in his upper and his lower jaw. Perhaps there is not a child who would not find pleasure (and that, even into the years of adolescence) in dazzling himself by alternately staring long at a candle-flame and then closing his eyelids, or else in causing sounds to mingle in a chaos by suddenly placing his hands over his ears. Naturally, the ambition to hold out longer than his comrades plays a great rôle in all this experimenting. And who is there who would not, as child, purposely have tasted of sour, bitter things whose taste was already known to be disagreeable?—who would not have done it merely out of mischief (Mutwille), from a desire to show-off and to do a big thing? Under this head also belongs the voluntary eating of May-bugs, worms, etc., on the part of larger children, especially boys—of course only before admiring spectators. Children who like to put themselves on exhibition in this way are never without a strongly sadistic vein.

Since the little child has absolutely no feeling of disgust, and

the disgust shown somewhat later only takes the place of pleasure in forbidden things—a pleasure which has not died out but has merely been repressed through training—he continues to find interest in the products of defecation and in the process itself just as he had done in infancy. The original interest in these matters does not become less, although as early as in the third year of life—sometimes even in the second—the child learns, as a rule, to mask that interest to a certain extent. The pleasure experienced with relation to everything connected with this process sometimes breaks forth undisguised. But if the child is obliged to forego all such expression of pleasure, he sometimes seeks a substitute gratification in enuresis nocturna. A boy of nine years, who still indulges in this habit, says that at four years of age when living with an aunt in the country, he wet his bed every day "for his own pleasure" because "lying in something warm" was so comforting, and he liked to feel the linen sheet drying underneath his body, pressed against it. He had played, moreover, that he was having fomentations applied as his mother had had them shortly before when ill of typhoid fever (Bauchtyphus) after a premature delivery. Evidently the heart of his game lay in this phantasy: on the one hand, he identified himself with his beloved mother; on the other hand, he had found pleasure in thinking of (her) pregnancy and early delivery. For he said he had always pressed himself against the sheet so "hard" that his abdomen was quite flattened.

The playing with one's own body and its functions takes on a broader scope as soon as a child has a chance to meet with children of his own age. Then the pleasure in exhibiting one's self and in yielding to the "peeping"-impulse (Exhibitions- und Schaulust) finds a wide field of action (activity) opened (presented) to it; and while those desires are being satisfied, the first ties of friendship are being formed. Thus, when my nephew was in his third year he is said to have related with glee that a girl (nine years old) had shut herself into the bath-room with him and had displayed herself naked. At about the same time his mother heard him inviting a little girl-friend to similar disrobing in the garden, promising—as return-act—to show himself to her. Also I know the following fact in regard to a five-year-old little girl, *i. e.,* that while she and her little brother three and a half years old, had their bath together, she reached repeatedly after his "membrum"; and that the little boy enjoyed making "Nature-studies" on his sister, too. Remembering kindred pleasures of the previous summer, the children called these performances "Seebadspielen" (ocean-bathing). The little boy,

"O," who had had enemas frequently ever since his third year, amused himself by "treating" a little girl-playmate in that way; while he declined the procedure, at her hands, terming it "filthiness." Here the repression was so far advanced that he would allow no one but himself to play the active part, while his refusal of the passive rôle (Passivität) pointed likewise to unpleasant associations connected with similar treatments to which he had been obliged to submit in nursery days.

The reason why playing "Doctor" is so common and so much liked is that it is based on childhood-experiences of this same sort, and it is significant that children are apt to retire to an out-of-the-way corner for this kind of play.

In the first three years of life the activity of special senses is of immense importance for play, and the cause of this is that the sense-functions are not yet fully under control at that period, and that the gradual increase in efficiency and accuracy in the use of the organs concerned produces in the child a pleasurable sense of growing confidence in himself and pride in his own strength and dexterity. Naturally this is true in largest measure, in regard to exercise of the muscles in walking, running, climbing, and jumping. The child does not tire of making the same attempts, again and again, until finally, with the aid of loud laughter and screams of delight, he succeeds in drawing the attention of his comrades to his performance. In doing such feats, he takes care to avoid expressions of pain unless he really receives severe injuries, particularly if he finds that an all too ready sympathy magnifies his courage and represents him as a little stoic who considers repeated falling down simply as a necessary evil and bears it as such. Climbing and going up and down stairs give the child peculiar pleasure; perhaps, in part, because the straining of the thigh and abdominal muscles excites erotic feelings. The little boy, "O," at two and a half years, climbed on the brass rods of a washstand up to the top of it; and when his mother lifted the child down, she noticed that he had an erection. We have no such detailed records before us about any other child, concerning pleasure in climbing, as we have about Shinn's niece, Ruth. The writer does not suggest the sexual significance of this kind of muscular activity, but its presence can be recognized from the abandon with which the child carries on these exercises, from her persistence in performing them, and from the strong pleasurable reaction which they excite. For we are told:[1] "All her thoughts are directed toward

[1] Shinn, *l. c.*, 537–539, 545, 554 ("Ihr ganzes Sinnen und Denken ist auf das Klettern gerichtet"), 561, 575, 587.

climbing. Her heart and soul are set on it." The pleasure attendant on climbing is partly due to the fact that it secures for the young child a chance to satisfy his curiosity by examining birds' nests, feathers, etc. As a rule, when children climb upon chairs, tables, etc., they do so for the purpose of bringing within reach things which adults have forbidden them to look at or to use; and, this being so, one may assume that even the climbing done by older children is not to be considered solely as an especially favored form of muscular exertion, but that it should count, in part, as resistance to compulsion and to prohibition in general. When little "O's" mother wished to make the honey-pot safe by putting it upon a tall cupboard supposed to be entirely out of reach of her little son, the latter declared: "No use, Mamma! I shall climb upon the low seat, from there upon the bed, and then upon the high part of the bed; and from there I can get to the honey very well," and, in truth, he was caught in the act of doing this a few days later. Shinn reports of her niece that she learned to like, in her third year, and still liked when in her seventh year, to climb stairs and to slide down them. We read: "She slides down, now on her feet, now with her body extended at full length, and goes with a jerky motion." This kind of movement suggests unconscious onanism. The same idea is indulged in later, too, in a similar way by sliding down stair-rails, climbing trees and posts, etc., because thus the character of "the shocking," "the objectionable," is taken away from onanism when it has long since meant to the child "a forbidden act." From infancy onward, the child loves rocking and swinging movements; and as a rule this fondness remains and is strengthened, since a chance for sexual excitement, without giving offence, is also presented here. Also the sexual excitement frequently finds itself intensified through the pleasure attending (unconscious) exhibitionism and the "looking habit" (Schaulust), both forms of indulgence being easily gratified by such movements. As long as rocking (or being rocked) is a passive form of pleasure, the participation in it of a purely mental (emotional) component—the demand for love and care—should not be overlooked. This also plays a rôle, to some extent at least, in the infantile impulse to throw things about, a desire which dies out as soon as it is found that no one seeks for the object thrown. Beside the pleasure in the strong action of the muscles which is thus called into play, the child derives no little enjoyment from the agreeable feeling of keeping other people busy with himself. With larger children a sadistic impulse quite often comes to expression in the act of throwing things. The more distinctly a

child becomes conscious of his muscle-power, the more intensively he exercises the same. Only the delicate boy draws back instinctively from the scuffles of his playfellows; and often very early this consciousness of bodily weakness gives rise to a feeling of bitterness which finds vent in the compensatory exercise of cunning, or in self-conceit (cultivating a belief in his own mental superiority). The normally robust child, especially the boy, lets no opportunity of exercising his body go unused; and the ancient game of "Who is the stronger?" remains forever alluring to his muscle-erotism. The games where wrestling and fighting come in bear the stamp of sexuality so plainly that it is hardly to be overlooked. Although the educated layman has known, for a long while, what bad effects tickling can have upon children, yet its importance is still too little recognized. Fathers, uncles, grandfathers—that is, in general, individuals of the male sex—cannot refrain from tickling children and thereby exciting them to that forced laughter which degenerates into a compulsive scream-laughter often accompanied by compulsive starts, the analogy of which to the orgasm of hypersensitive adults during the sexual act cannot be denied. Perhaps the peculiarity which many women have of bursting into tears at the height of pleasure has been established through experiences of the tickling sort in youth. Shinn records:[2] "As a general thing the tickling of our child was forbidden. Nevertheless, her grandfather tickled her several times in her second year; and this induced in her an extraordinary amount of pleasureable excitement. She threw herself over backward on her grandmother's lap and pointed to her own breast and neck, begging him to tickle her again. When he complied, she shouted and laughed for joy, emitting a tone which did not sound like a reflex movement but like a natural expression of pleasure." This remark in regard to little Ruth's reaction to tickling seems to me worthy of notice for this reason, because in her case the movement—atavistic in the woman—of throwing herself backward upon being excited sexually was especially conspicuous. When boys are tickled, one observes rather a throwing-about of the limbs, a doubling of the body, and a springing up with a jerk—in other words, an increased activity which stands out in contrast to the girl's passivity, both forms of reaction serving to foreshadow the behavior of man and woman respectively in the emotional relationships of their adult life.

With many children the strong development of skin-erotism is manifested in certain bad habits, such as continual scratching of the

[2] Shinn, *l. c.*, 235.

head, or of the palm of the hand until local inflammation is induced; or again in moving the clothes from side to side on the body—a habit which, in fact, is frequently only a disguised form of onanism. Freud surmises that some time before the third year of life—and as a result of still unexplained instincts of that period—the infantile form of onanism dies down, and that then a latency period comes on which soon gives way in its turn to a flood tide of sexual feeling which falls between the third and fourth years. At that time sex-interests occupy the centre of the infant's feelings and acts, as the result of which he takes up masturbation again. Much has been written about the physical and the mental harm which come from this infantile self-gratification. But it is easy to go too far in such generalizations. One naturally tries to correct a too early activity of the sex(ual) impulses as much as one can, but this is a task which calls for the greatest possible caution. For we know from the analysis of neurotic invalids that the so-called "castration-complex"—that is, a group of feelings and emotion which arise in the infant and become firmly fixed as a result of the threat (outspoken or implied) to cut off the "membrum," or the (substitute) finger, on account of onanism—has such a lasting effect that with many persons it cannot be eliminated, thereafter, from the mental life, and is likely, instead, to become the source of psychic impotence and of other nervous anxiety-states (Angstzustände).[3] If we could only teach ourselves to recognize the phenomena of the sexual life not as a forbidden something which should be kept secret from the child, we should be able to tread these paths in more reasonable fashion. Gentle admonition which defines those manipulations as "not nice," but not as harmful, helps the child more than terrifying threats. The motive of love for its mother induces many a child to desist from this form of gratification. My nephew, at the age of four years, after he had been warned repeatedly in regard to this practice, said touchingly, to his mother, one evening: "Mother dear, all day long I have not taken my little tip in my hand, except of course when I have made Wischi (urinated), but then you were with me." Thus when the impulse is not too strong and the onanistic act has not become a habit, love and the stimulus to ambition are able to accomplish more than severity, the purpose of which is not understood and which, for that reason, is doomed to failure. In the diary-like records relating to the development of individual children, unfortunately not even the slightest suggestion is to be found on this im-

[3] This complex speaks out, too, in the fear of many children of having their hair cut. (Author.)

portant point; and those writers who occupy themselves with this question record nothing but isolated data regarding it, or make remarks not connected with the rest of the chronicle of the child's development. This separating of the sexual components from the whole picture of a childhood history is to blame, in large part too, for the fact that infantile masturbation is so persistently overlooked, or else denied. One sees only the shadow side of the life under observation, without recognizing that these children, as well as others, have lovable traits of character also; and, furthermore, that these children form the majority of young people. Indeed, we look at the dark side without considering that strongly marked sexual manifestations are simply the necessary reverse side of an early developed intellect. When one hears a child called "precocious," one may be sure that before long erotic and sexual characteristics of one or another sort will become manifest. For it is a law of nature that in proportion as the interest of the child becomes awakened, it will be instinctively directed, from inclination, toward that emotional realm that has so much to offer him in the way of pleasurable excitement.

II. The Development of the Understanding (Die Verstandesentwicklung)

An early development of the understanding is conditioned upon mentaly taking in and digesting the various experiences of daily life; indeed, the existence (evidence) of such development implies that the child has done that very thing. Those about him often believe that the occurrences in question have remained unnoticed by the child; or else people think that "he does not understand." It is certainly true of children, even though not true of adults, that the development of the rational powers proceeds, not at the expense of the emotional life, but almost always "hand in hand" with it. This is much more strikingly true in the case of "only" children than with children who have the opportunity of maturing in the midst of a group of brothers and sisters, and are therefore not removed from contact with the sphere of thought most characteristic of childhood, so often or for so long a period of time as is the "only" child. The highly pleasing "sayings" of children, the spontaneous utterances which give an inkling of the freedom and originality of the childish mind, reflect the closeness of the connection that obtains between the growing child and his environment. Curiosity and attention are the most effective of all the forces which call the rational thought-processes into being. In our characterization of the period

of infancy, we have already illustrated how the child reacts to everything which seems to him worth investigation; and what was there said holds good, even more definitely, for the years that follow. Now the question arises: "With what actual experiences do the first ideas, judgments, conclusions tend to deal?" Without exaggeration we can say: With the processes of nourishment and of digestion. The latter process, in particular, just because so much stress is laid on it in his home training, becomes of such engrossing interest to the child as to occupy the central place in his unconscious thoughts and in his games, and this would be so even if there were no constitutional, inherent tendencies at work in favor of this outcome. So strongly does anal- and urethral erotism become rooted among the instinctive cravings of the infant, that it is not to be cast out in later years except at the cost of genuine renunciation. In both the earlier and the later periods, the holding back of the bowel-movement constitutes a pleasure-accented act; and frequently the immediate need of little children to urinate is to be recognized through noting the cramp-like attitudes that they assume as they go about on tip-toe, and is also to be read from the tense facial expression which reveals a combination of pleasurable excitement and anxious curiosity—all meaning "How much longer can I hold out?" My nephew, when he was from four to five years of age, did a similar thing. Before paying attention to his need he would hop about on one leg as if possessed, and he met every appeal with the invariable reply: "I must not! I must not!" When these bodily needs, even though urgent, are apparently forgotten during play, the "forgetting" arises from motives of a quite similar sort—as does enuresis nocturna also. The child wishes to enjoy the agreeable feeling of tension in the urethral or in the anal zone as long as he possibly can; and, indeed, with boys the urethral irritation is well known to cause actual erections. The great importance which the child attaches to the excretory act—doing so partly in imitation of his elders—comes to expression in the demand to have his mother present[1] (die Mutter möge dabei sein); and the same tendency is shown in the oft-observed habit which children have of disturbing the meal-hours by calling attention to their personal needs. Children do this even in their fourth year—indeed, even as late as in their sixth year and the deeper meaning of the act, i. e., to claim mother's care exclusively, *during meal times as well,* is usually overlooked by adults. The father wishes to see this desire treated as a piece of naughtiness; the mother excuses it as a habit linked to

[1] Or perhaps the unwillingness to have her present. (Trans.)

the hour. Indeed, with children whose appetite is deficient, a virtue is sometimes made of necessity, in the hope that after the "evacuation" has taken place the meal will prove to be more of a success.

Anal and urethral erotism not only offer the child ample opportunity for playful activity, based on their immediate gratification, but turn his games into definite paths with special outcomes. Urinating through cracks of garden fences, to the greatest possible height on a tree, or in such a way that the stream will rise into the air in serpentine lines, or, again, intentionally letting it run over the edge of the "night-vessel" and listening to the sound it makes—all these are never failing modes of diversion among young boys. As soon as the first strong repression has taken place, then the child's great liking for water, mud, and sand comes to light. To make a mud-pie not too watery and not too hard, just like a "Drücki"—as my nephew expressed himself—always remains a favorite form of play to the child, all the more so since this gives him a good chance to soil hands, face, and clothes; in that fact lies the chief charm of the play. Little Scupin[2] used to defend himself against his mother's reproaches relative to this, and against her plea that his cousin, Lotte, looks clean even while at play, with the reply: "Then she isn't playing right. When one plays right, one makes oneself dirty too." The listening—accompanied by smiles and laughter—to the running off of water, for example of the bath water;[3] the playful collecting of saliva and squirting it; all indicates, with the three-year-old child, a shifting of interest from the "forbidden" to the "harmless" zone even thus early. But beside this, as is natural, reversions to the original form of excitement often occur. In his fifth year, my nephew and a company of smaller and of larger lads, were caught in filling, with a liquid of their own providing, a hollow in the ground dug out for that purpose. With red cheeks and with eyes beaming with delight, little Max came running up to his mother, and said: "Look, Mutti! We must fill our pond up full; it is half full now." And, another time, when he was between three and four years old, and was playing by himself with his railroad-train, suddenly he took several pieces of paper and put them in the last coach with the remark: "There! That is for the conductor when he has to make 'Drücki.'" This is a variation of the thought of all children: "What do the engineer and the conductor do when they need to relieve themselves?"—a question which, upon the

[2] Scupin, *l. c.*, II, p. 215.

[3] Shinn, *l. c.*, 225; Stern, *l. c.*, 325.

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child's first visit to the theater, is extended to include actors[4]—and a question which, in its repression, forms perhaps one of the reasons for the urgent "call of Nature" at the wrong time.[5] Certainly the anxiety of many adults, when making a journey, to find a place in a coupé as near as possible to the toilet-room, is likewise to be traced to the same source as is the irresistible compulsive laughter (Lachzwang) of many people when an entire company listens intently to an unexpected noise.

Not only do the functions of digestion serve the child for the purposes of play, but his budding understanding knows how to put them to use, a little later, in the service of his feeling and emotion. In Diary III, No. 4953, under the date of Dec. 24, 1851 (published by R. M. Werner, II edition), Hebbel records, in regard to his daughter Titi, at that time three years old: "If the maid-servants will not conduct themselves as she wishes, she threatens to wet herself." The child, in short, punishes a lack of affectionate attention (Liebe) to him and his desires, with whatever means he has at his command and in the way which seems to him likely to be as unpleasant as possible to those whom he wishes to rebuke.

The open manifestations of anal and urethral erotism become repressed and checked, as time goes on, in proportion as the effect of training makes itself felt; and in its place there appears gradually the sense of "modesty." This repression of desires which in themselves are pleasurable often brings it about that a feeling of disgust arises which is not directed solely against the processes immediately in question and against the products of the bowel-evacuation, but is very frequently transferred to the very taking in of nourishment, and expresses itself especially in the refusal to partake of certain dishes which from their color remind one of the "defecation-products." One day, at noon, when roast hare was served, in brown gravy, my nephew, then about four years old, called out: "What have you got there? I'm not going to eat that. That looks like Drücki." And upon eating chocolate he said: "Pfui! Now my fingers look full of Drücki!" (evidently having in mind the coprophilic practices of his first year). Such mental associations as this undoubtedly take place with most children, though they are not allowed to clothe them in words. In close association with the pro-

[4] O. Ernst, Asmus Sempers Jugendland, XI. Kap. When five-year-old Asmus is taken to the theater for the first time by his brothers, he inquires—among many other things—whether one can "go out" while there, if one "has to go"?

[5] A very common symptom among nervous patients, as also among clergymen going to the pulpit, and soldiers going into battle. (Trans.)

gressive repression of this interest in the defecation-process, it frequently happens, even in infancy, that ceremonial observances of one or another sort are brought into play, as invariable accompaniments of the excretory act—ceremonials which retain their importance even into the period of puberty. In closest connection with anal and urethral erotism stands the pleasure which children have in exhibiting themselves and in "peeping" (die Exhibitions- und Schaulust der Kinder) which propensities, of course, also indicate the infantile trains of thought. The former inclination (exhibitionism) seems to be inborn, a native instinct, since it is already in evidence at a period when the eye is of but little importance as an erogenous zone, the power of perception being still but slight. One has, therefore, the right to assume that pleasure in exhibitionism ("exposure") comes originally from the agreeable skin sensations accompanying changes of temperature. It is, however, by no means without a sexual accent—a fact which becomes evident when one takes note of the parts of the body chosen for exposure. It is the genitals that are thus selected during the first three or four years; and it is not until educational factors have come in, that the child seeks to conform, in this respect, to the demands of custom. Next in order of preference to the organs of generation come the nates, which the child finds it pleasant to have exposed, both when he is awake and when he is asleep. Children continue also, to make use, in fun or in anger, of certain gestures which are to be thought of as repressed exhibitionism. With his fine gift (power) of observation, Bogumil Goltz[6] recognized this tendency, and devotes the following passage to its description: "When the diminutive piece of manhood clad in child's frock, wishes to make himself especially annoying to the grown-ups, he often threatens to make himself naked, and he likes best to voice his threat in the words, 'Ich heb' mich gleich Bauchchen'; and to this may be added another barbarism, 'I shall dash myself on the ground, this minute.' But one does not let one's self be bullied; and so, straightway, the little rebel rolls on the floor 'in puris naturalibus'—a sort of sansculottism in child's clothes. At the worst, this amount of rebellion leads to a little tickling with a switch, and costs only those charming childhood tears which the spectator does not know whether to take as laughing or crying; for, indeed, the small creator of them does not really know himself." One might look upon the sudden changes of rage into laughter, occurring under such circumstances as these, as examples of psychic discharge taking place just in consequence of the unhindered carry-

[6] B. Goltz, Buch der Kindheit, p. 250.

ing out of exhibitionistic desires. This way of looking at the matter finds itself endorsed by the habit which obtains among sensible parents, of simply letting the child rage himself out. The pleasure in exposing one's own body is an expression of "narcissism." Originally it is practiced by children of both sexes to the same degree; but with the boy narcissism soon enters paths along which it moves veiled in many a disguise. And it is just here that the profound difference which exists between the sexes makes itself apparent. In his second and third years, however, the little boy pays himself the tribute of as honest admiration as the little girl does herself. Thus when for lack of other covering, a little woolen jacket belonging to his aunt was put around my nephew, then in his fifteenth month, he looked at himself in the mirror with a satisfied smile and could not have enough of stroking himself and exclaiming "Ei! Ei!" in praise of his appearance. Although he was still unable to understand speech, yet his aunt's good-natured raillery, "Look! He is quite in love with himself," must have made an impression on him; for the next day when his mother returned after a day's absence, he could not be induced to put on the little jacket again. Unfortunately, especially with girls, narcissism finds abundant food in the fashion-follies which vain mothers cannot deny themselves the pleasure of following; and they do that without stopping to consider of how much naturalness, of how great freedom of movement, they deprive their children. This form of display does not succeed with the boy as a rule; he would far rather run around day after day, in the same little torn or patched smock-frock than to suffer a curtailment of his freedom of activity. The inherited aggressiveness, which is stronger with the boy, leads him to indulge his exhibitionistic desires more publicly than the girl does hers. In addition, training (pedagogy, die Erziehungskunst) contributes much to impress the feeling of modesty upon the girl earlier and more strongly than upon the boy. In spite of that, however, the excretory acts retain their power, even with girls, to furnish a desired excuse for "seeing" and "being seen." Love for animals proceeds in part from the great delight with which the child watches these processes in them. The chance to make close observations is indeed much more easily managed under such conditions than it is with playmates or in the case of adults—although it is precisely with them that the child misses no opportunity of "peeping," in the hope of seeing something that might give the explanation of many an obscure problem. In the same way, in order to gratify their ears, at least, if not their eyes, children like to lurk round toilet-room doors. Indeed, many chil-

dren make a direct demand to be taken in there with the mother, and it is especially true of boys; the attraction of the opposite sex is conspicuous in this. As a general thing this desire comes from memory-traces of times when the mother, thinking the child asleep, or else that he is noticing nothing, has put less reserve than usual upon herself in satisfying her needs. Or, again, the child's request arises from remembering journeys during which the mother was afraid to let her two- or three-years old child wait at the door of the toilet-room in frequented railroad-stations. I leave out altogether those isolated cases in which the unfreed residues of her own anal-erotism are the unconscious motives of the mother's fear. When the first thoughts and words are formed (Gedanken- und Wortbildung) it is natural for them to be connected with an emotional sphere so erotically marked. Anal-erotism is of supreme importance in the formation of character—as Freud has shown in his work; and I will not end my remarks on the subject of anal-erotism without at least indicating in what relation it stands to the question which is of greatest importance to the child, the question "How do children come into existence?" If I reserve the detailed consideration of this until later, yet I should like to mention here that in the course of the child's search for a satisfactory solution of this enigma, there always comes a period in his development when he takes the excretory act as giving the longed-for explanation of the mystery—hence the "Lumpftheorie" of Hänschen,[7] and little Anna's opinion of the matter.[8] Each child is satisfied with this self-found theory so long as he thinks of the mother as sole creator of (the) children. It seems entirely natural to him that a foreign body should be cast out of the mother's body by way of defecation, or else of vomiting (*i. e.*, either through the intestinal tract or else through the esophagus).

Pleasure in exhibitionism and in "peeping," leads the infantile mind to occupy itself deeply with the engrossing problem of nakedness. The child's interest in it is expressed in countless questions. As long as he is not prevented from speaking frankly about the matters, whatever they may be, with which his reasoning-power is engaged, he never grows weary of talking about those parts of the body which are the source of his most pleasurable feelings and making them the central point of conversation. The fondness for dolls which is so characteristic, in the earliest years, of boys and

[7] Analyse d. Phobie eines fünfjährigen Knaben. Jahrbuch f. psycho-an. u. psycho-pathol. Forschung., I.

[8] Jung, Konflikte d. kindlichen Seele. Jahrb. f. psycho-an. u. psycho-pathol. Forschung., II.

girls alike, springs from the demand (desire) to see the human body, or at least an image of it, entirely without clothing. And because little bath-dolls meet this wish the nearest, they enjoy a special popularity with all children. This lively interest soon causes the child to seek means of distinguishing between the sexes, and this is particularly the case with children who grow up among brothers and sisters. The boy thinks of the genitals of the girl as something unfinished, something incomplete, something to which time must be counted on to give the proper growth. The root of the pride of the male in his sex lies in this conception. The boy, as a rule, considers the girl as his inferior, because she lacks that member from which he derives so much pleasure. Soon comes the time when his affection goes out with special strength to the mother; and similarly he acts as guardian to the little girls even when they are above him in years and in size. Thus, my nephew, when four or five years old, would summon ten-year-old girls to join him in play, by calling out to them: "Here little girl! Will you play with me?"—and upon being instructed that the child was already a big girl, much older than himself, he would add naïvely: "Well, yes, older; but for all that she is only a girl." Little Scupin, too, in his fourth year, found his sex an advantage.[9] The diary tells us that "Bubi is very proud every time his father takes him by the hand and goes out for a walk with him upon the 'Steinmauer' or along the 'Waldweg.' And because on one occasion his father spoke of himself and Bubi as 'we men,' Bubi's pride and feeling of superiority now know no bounds. He puts on a serious and exceedingly dignified bearing, tries to keep exact step with his father, and is very much concerned that no feminine individual should join them. 'But mamma must not follow us, nor grandma either!'" Premature awakening of the sense of modesty marks those cases where boys wish to do without the "member," under the pretext of its being inconvenient and superfluous. It speaks for itself that in the latter assertion there lies an unuttered question as to the true purpose (use) of the "member." Sometimes the wish to look like a girl, *i. e.,* to be like the mother in all respects, is at the foundation of this eagerness to be thus altered.

As one might expect, interest in the genitals begins earlier with the boy than with the girl. If the latter has no brothers and no boy playmates, it even happens in some instances that until puberty arrives she remains in uncertainty as to the difference between the sexes (über den Geschlechtscharakter). Her mind is not clear on this matter because observations accidentally made on the street

[9] Scupin, *l. c.,* II, p. 28.

lead to confusion in her thoughts; and the same is true of pictures. Figures wearing the loin-cloth (especially in pictures of the saints), the fig-leaf on pieces of sculpture, etc., contribute, it is true, to keep the imagination busy, but do not help at all to a calm and clear conception (Auffassung). This concealment of the naked truth awakens in the intelligent child the impulse to investigate the interior (inside) of things. He becomes soon carried away by the wish to obtain an explanation for the processes going on within his own body, and above all else to have revealed to him the secrets of the process of digestion. This wish shows itself undisguised in questions such as children from three to six years of age like to ask, for example: "Has everybody a Popo (buttocks)?" "Father and mother, too?" "What would happen if I had no Popo?" "Must a person die whose Popo is grown together?" etc. Why it is that both sorts of excretions from the body do not have exit through a common orifice, in the same way that solid and liquid nourishment are taken into the body through one and the same alimentary tube; what the intestines look like "inside," and similar thoughts—these are the primitive questions which soon experience a shifting in form to more "harmless" topics, when the child has been reprimanded and made to realize that his contsant occupation with such interests is objectionable. "Why do I have hair, nails, skin?" "Why does one wash oneself every day?" "Why have I only one nose but two eyes?" "What if a man had four feet!" "How would it be then?" "Why do not people have tails?" etc. The innocent question: "Why is the blood red?" always covers a desire to introduce regularly the favorite but repressed theme which is often finally brought to a point in the form of inquiries with regard to the color of the bowel-movements (Exkrete).[10] The inclination, quite common among older children and adults, to reject certain shades of yellow and brown as "disgusting," goes back to the preference for them in earliest childhood.

The first perception of his own erections is of the utmost significance to the boy. Unless, indeed, they remain unnoticed in the very first years of life, it is hardly possible that the feeling of tension connected with the erections should escape the notice of the intelligent child; he cannot remain unaware of it. But unfortunately, nothing is said by any author with regard to this point. My nephew, it appears, first became conscious of an erection some time in the

[10] This is the more exciting problem because strongly and habitually excluded from ordinary conversation and related to various other forbidden topics. (Trans.)

course of his sixth year. At least, it was during that period that he first asked the following question: "Mutti, why is my Zipferl (little tip = membrum) sometimes very small and thin, and then so large and stiff, standing up so straight that there is no room for it in my trousers?" Ans.—"You know it is that way with the mouth. It is almost always small, but when one laughs or yawns it gets wider and longer without our knowing exactly how." "Yes, and when eating, too; and my Zipferl does the same when I have to make Wischi (urine); that is why my Zipferl is so thick in the morning when I wake up."

From observing one's own body it is only a step to compare it with the bodies of other persons. Looking over and "sizing up" representatives of his own sex introduce the child to the ideas (zu d. Begriffen) of "large" and "small"; while observations made on the other sex lead to knowledge of differences between the sexes. Shortly before his sixth birthday, in a conversation about "young and old," "large and small," of his own accord my nephew put the following questions: "How large is the Zipferl of a big man?" Ans.—"I don't know." "So large (indicating 30 cm.)?" Ans.—"No." "Or so long (showing the length of his middle finger)?" "Why does it grow so large with a man?—and how is there room for it then in his trousers?" Ans.—"All parts of the body grow—the nose, the arms, the legs—and so that member must become large." "Of course. It would be funny (ridiculous)—such a tiny Zipferl for such a big man! And then it has to be so large because a man makes so much Wischi (urine)." After some minutes' play with his building-blocks, he continued: "Yes, yes—so long (pointing to the longest building-block). I have seen it on men in the street, on coachmen. But once, on one of them, it was all red, all bloody; and I was afraid." This last remark makes one infer that the child may have entertained fear of mutilation of his own "membrum," although the house-maids and the bonne had been expressly charged not to use such threats.[11]

For children of three or four years old, or less, the difference between the sexes is solely an affair of clothing. How much nearer his father the little boy feels who has outgrown the sexless kilt and has received his first pair of trousers. And what an unbearable picture of disgrace is called up when the threat is made that he will have to put on the little dress again if he does not show himself worthy of trousers! Here, too, a logical explanation by my nephew may well find place, when, thinking of the dissimilarity between man

[11] A threat not uncommon among thoughtless and ignorant persons.

and woman as something entirely appropriate, he said: "Mutti, I know you have hair here (pointing to her lap); all women have it, because they have no Zipferl. And the men (I know that from seeing Herrn Direktor K— when I went bathing in the Danube) have long black hair on the chest, of course because they have no such 'Hügel' there as women have." In this fashion the sex-problem, with its attendant mysteries, occupies the child's mind unceasingly; and with a little less exhibition of prudery on the part of adults, who are over-quick to take offence at such frank, artless expressions of childish speculation, a chance would be afforded for still deeper disclosures (revelations) about matters which are of vast importance for education (Erziehung). These observations which the child makes are not without their poetic side. Thus, a little boy of five years, after watching his little two-year-old sister in the bath, called her protruding navel "a rose-bud" (Knospe von einer Rose), while he said his own navel looked like "a little fritter." Little Scupin calls his prosaically, "little belly-bobbin" (Bauchknöppel). The female breasts are of greatest interest to the child; and this is partly due to the memory of their rôle as first source of pleasure. Such interest appears especially in children who have been nursed beyond the normal time. Even toward the end of his second year a certain little boy begged his mother every day at noon for "a bit of bosom" (um ein Stücki Bu); and the same boy was in the habit, even in his seventh year, of openly making known his dislike of over-slender women, through the disparaging criticism: "Pfui! that woman has no Bu (bosom)!" It seems to the child, and particularly to the girl, that the chief difference in the sexes lies in the development of the breasts; and the many means which growing girls use to beautify their persons have their deepest root in unfulfilled child-wishes. Similar aids to beauty are often made use of with dolls, as their little girl owners soon discover. And this makes clear the naïve remark of a small five-year-old, whose female relatives were all of them very thin, but who (the child) had had the chance to observe a family friend with large breasts: "When I am grown up, I shall stick as much cotton (padding) inside my dress as Fräulein L— does in hers."

From such expressions as the above, the sexual[12] character of the child's longing "to be big" speaks out clearly. The following passage in regard to that longing is to be found in Bog. Goltz: "What all children, equally and without distinction, cannot wait for

[12] In the opinion of the translators, the desire for power is of quite equal importance with the other desire, here defined.

with patience is to be 'grown up' (Grossgewachsensein). The persistent question of all places and times is the one known to us all through personal experience: 'When shall I be big?—very big?—as big as father and mother? When shall I be a father? When can I marry? When can I go out alone, eat alone, put on trousers, go to school, not go to school any more, and do everything I like?'"[13] In these prospectings into the future, the thoughts of "marrying" and of becoming a "father" (or a "mother") come into the foreground again and again. In true child fashion, the future "milieu" is to be exactly like that of the present. E. and G. Scupin report as follows with reference to the fourth year of their boy's life:[14] "He has now entered that phase in which the story constantly runs thus: 'When I am big and tall, then—will—be.' To-day, for example, we heard him talking to himself in this way: 'But when I am very big and tall, then I shall be as big as the sun. Yes, yes, and when I am as big as the sun, then my head must bend, or the ceiling will hit me.'" In the morning—so we are told—he was fond of getting into bed beside his mother "so that his feet were against the footboard," and then imagining himself taller than his mother whose feet did not touch it. The longing to be taller than mother is common to all boys and expresses the unconscious wish for sexual mastery (Überlegenheit). The correctness of the sexual interpretation is shown clearly in the note (p. 74) with regard to the tenth month of the fourth year: "Shall I be a papa when I am grown up? Can I drink coffee when I have become a papa? What will Lotte say when I am a big father (Lotte is his cousin about six months older)?' Ans.—'Lotte will then be a "big" mamma.' 'But what do papas and mammas do all the time, I wonder?'" Once, a month later, impatiently and imperatively he "desired" to be a papa. Upon being assured that he would certainly be one some day, he asked naïvely, "But does that come so slowly (Aber wächst das so *lamsam*)?" Perhaps the naïveté lies only in the pronunciation of the words and not in the flow (direction) of his thoughts.

It is true in the life of every child that sleeping in a large bed signifies a mighty approach to the desired goal of being "grown up." At the beginning of his fifth year, little "O" shed bitter tears because he was expected to be satisfied with a child's small bed during a stay in the country. He rebelled against this humiliation even while he was dreaming. "No, no! there is no place for me (lit., I have no place)." Scupin's diary (p. 85) also relates: "It

[13] Bogumil Goltz, Buch der Kindheit, p. 249.

[14] Scupin, Bubi vom vierten bis sechsten Lebensjahre, pp. 36, 74, 83, 94.

was a great event in Bubi's life when he had a large bed such as adults use, and slept there instead of in his hitherto occupied crib. At night, of his own accord, he asked to be taken to bed (a request hardly ever made before that), and in the morning he was unwilling to get up, because he wished to enjoy the big bed longer. In a contemptuous tone he called his small bed, 'the baby bed,' and he assured us that he would not 'be a baby' any more now in his big bed, and that he would hold fast to the corner of the bed-spread."

This longing to be "grown up," to be "big" (gross zu sein), that lies at the heart of all children's games, shows itself most clearly in the directly imitative plays, such as reading the newspaper, writing letters, smoking, wearing glasses, etc.

Little girls, when they make use, in their games, of their newly acquired knowledge concerning the structure and the functions of the human body, are apt to do so secretly, when by themselves. The little boy, on the contrary, can hardly wait for the chance to communicate his new-found information to some grown man. The boy is not content with what his mates tell him; the instruction they give him does not satisfy him; he prefers to cross-question adults in order to gain still further knowledge. There is need here of great wisdom on the teacher's part. For the child should neither be denied the opportunity of interesting himself in matters which to him seem harmless, nor led to brood over problems which are made over-exciting through remarks and questions of a lustful nature—a danger which becomes greater the more the child is left with servants. To the person who knows how to take the right way in discussing such subjects, the difficult question of "sexual enlightenment" loses the greater portion of its terror. In fact, the difficulty drops away and vanishes—at least, in regard to those points with reference to which the child has not previously been misled. The child's understanding becomes broadened through an intelligent explanation, fact by fact, and the decision, contemplated with such dread, "How and when shall I tell my child what he ought to know?" loses all its painfulness.

III. Memory (Die Erinnerung)

One of the most important functions of the human mind (Geistes) is memory. It implies the ability to form associations and presupposes a certain mobility of the mental elements; and by virtue of this—as spontaneous (freisteigend) and voluntary recollection—it provides the indispensable prerequisite for learning anything. The fore-stage of the process of remembering, namely, the

act of recognition, is not a pure association-process. Even in the case of very young children it acquires, almost at once, an emotional character which is manifested under the form of surprise, or desire, or repulsion. During the period of life that precedes speech, this "feeling-tone"—connected as it is with "choice" or "will-reaction" (Willensreaktion)—expresses itself in gestures; but with advancing development not only does the child employ speech, the most expressive means, to show pleasure or displeasure upon recognizing a person or thing, but he reproduces, in unconscious thought, the situations in which these objects once had an affective significance for him. In brief, only those experiences can be remembered to which a strong "feeling-tone" of pleasure or of displeasure was originally attached, even though—as the result of definite but unconscious motives—this note of pleasure may have been (may become) entirely repressed later. There come into existence in that way those memory-fragments (Stück-Erinnerungen) which seem incomprehensible even to the individual concerned, because their most important component is absent from consciousness; he is unaware of the objectionable element for the sake of which they have been retained in memory.

It is often taken for granted that the earliest memories of the adult do not reach back farther than his fourth year; that in some way they are related to speech-development. But when one considers that, as a rule, children two or three years old remember clearly events occurring in their second, yes, even in their first year, then one must admit that some further explanation must be sought for the fact that the memory of adults fails them for the period of life before the third or fourth year. This explanation is to be found in intentional repression—as is shown from the psycho-analysis of neurotics and from the study of dreams. The apparently senseless stuff with which dreams deceive us, and the mental material which the psycho-analyst wrings from the patient with infinite pains—all this is rooted, in the form of subconscious memory-traces, in the experiences of earliest infancy. From the therapeutic and the pedagogical standpoint, as well as from the psychological standpoint, it would be no "unprofitable experiment"—as Preyer calls it[1]—to seek to carry over, well into the more advanced years of childhood, the memory-contents of the second and third years. Those memory-pictures would lead to the explanation of many so-called childhood faults, and to the understanding of many peculiarities noticed in adults.

[1] Preyer, Die Seele des Kindes, p. 233.

The memories which reach back the farthest are especially apt to tell of experiences which have sexual or erotic contents; and in consequence of the persistent, arbitrary and artificial (künstlich) repression of his strong instinct-life (Triebleben), such memories are soon recognized by the child as objectionable subjects of conversation and are banished to the subconscious region of the mind. In his work entitled "The Mental Development of the Child," Compayré assumes that it is in the greater or less precocity of the child that the reason is to be sought for the differences which obtain as to the point of time to which the first memories go back. But since the term "precocity" is nothing else than a euphemistic term for a lively sex-interest, this opinion places us at once on the fertile soil of the Freudian teaching. Not only is it likely that the child's close attention will be directed to whatever excites his sex-interest, but the matters so observed are sure to be revived upon occasions which seem to the adult to have no logical connection therewith, and to furnish no reason for such revival. There is no element of the "accidental" either in the operations of memory or in any other psychic occurrence; but it often happens that the connecting threads of thought are positively concealed from us, or else that we do not choose to see them.

The fidelity of memory for the reproduction of what has been experienced depends upon the strength of the emotional emphasis (Gefühlsbetontheit) by which the experience is marked. The source from which this emphasis is derived may be some circumstance that might seem of secondary significance, and it is in obedience to this principle that those instances are seen where past and present events are linked together in our thoughts, in ways that appear absurd or mysterious to us so long as we do not recognize "the subconscious," or do not give it the place which belongs to it in the mental life. This is illustrated by the case of a lady of thirty-nine, who, just before a gynecological examination, which was undertaken for the purpose of a curetting, suddenly remembered an expression of severe displeasure which she had drawn upon herself from her father in her sixth or seventh year, because in spite of her being repeatedly forbidden to do so, she had opened the buds of a fuchsia-stalk before their unfolding. To the person who does not know about the sexual significance of flowers in the life of the child, such seemingly unmotivated memories apparently arise without reason.

The memories connected with erotic experiences are frequently the ones which are the most pleasurable and the most tenacious,

even with the adult; and when age or illness prevents actual sexual indulgence, such memories often take the place of it—and yet, in spite of this, there is a strong disinclination to admit that the *child's* ability to remember is something that depends upon his sexual and erotic feelings. W. and C. Stern[2] furnish us with the following "memory" which their little son, Günter, gave at the age of three years and two months (August, 1905): "Once, in Swinemünde, when his mother was ill in bed, and the family was eating dinner in her bed-room, he said: 'You were sick once, in the old house; and we ate dinner in your bed-room, too.' Mother: 'Do you know where you sat?' Günter: 'That's all I know.'" To this Stern merely makes the remark that the event lay three quarters of a year behind them—hence that the "latency-period" (the interval until the "memory" came) amounted to nine months. But he does not mention that when the family dined the first time in the sick mother's bed-room, a little sister had been born not long before (Dec. 29, 1904), and that therefore the memory was linked with a highly exciting (affektvoll) circumstance. The same author[3] gives still another illustration which has reference to the fourth month of Günter's third year: "After a month had passed since a certain incident took place, the picture of a double-looped snake set free the memory—'Bille (Brille, spectacles)—Ella.'" Stern throws the following light on those words: "In Schreiberhau the boy's mother had made spectacles out of pasteboard, and had put them on the children for the game of 'Doctor.' And once a little playmate, named Ella, brought as her contribution to the game, a similar pair of spectacles with her. The double loop of the snake served to remind the boy of the spectacles; and they, in their turn, recalled his playing with Ella." When Günter was two years and six months old, at sight of a small picture for children, this Ella appeared (came to mind) again. The pronounced sexual note of the favorite game of "Doctor," together with the erotic tinge (Erotik) of early friendships between children, explain adequately the entrance of the memory-picture into consciousness. The influence of unconscious sexual thought-associations showed itself very plainly, also, in the memory-life (Gedächtnisleben) of Stern's oldest child, little Hilda.[4] The sight of an uncle who was present on one occasion while she was having a tub-bath reminded her of when "Onkel F— bathed

[2] W. u. C. Stern, Erinnerung, Aussage, und Lüge in der ersten Kindheit, p. 62.

[3] W. u. C. Stern, *l. c.*, p. 56.

[4] W. u. C. Stern, *l. c.*, p. 57.

with a suit on." It was pointed out in the earlier part of this book, what an important rôle the problem of nakedness (insufficient clothing) plays in relation to the child's mental life (Geist); and now we find that view strengthened by a new set of facts. Here are, for example, two boys, respectively seven and eight years old, who remember vividly a sojourn in the country, of some four years ago; and they lay special emphasis upon the fact that they slept in one bed, and tell how they played with each other under the bed-clothes, before going to sleep at night. With boys, as is well known, railway-journeys are frequently the cause of the first sensually toned feelings. For days afterward, the journeys form a fruitful subject of conversation for the children, and that not merely because of the numerous new impressions made on their minds by the brisk traffic, etc. As a matter of fact, the first railroad-journey is remembered by many children all their lives, and in particular, the fear experienced at every shrill whistle of the locomotive—fear which not seldom implies feelings of a sexual nature. The five-year-old boy, "O," admitted to his mother that the reason why he liked to ride on a train of cars so very much was because he always needed so greatly to relieve his bodily needs at such times, yet could not go to the toilet-room—"and that was such fun."

Spontaneous flashes of fanciful thought—the well-spring of wit—are of common occurrence in childhood, indeed are rather characteristic of that period; and all the delightful sayings which one cannot designate better than by calling them "child-talk" (Kindermund), owe their very existence to the easily stimulated (excited) power of memory. And as the best jokes, the most witty remarks, understood by everybody and finding free acceptance everywhere, have flourished upon sexual soil, so the most pleasing sayings of children are rarely without the unconscious expression of the desire for knowledge pertaining to sexual matters. In those sayings the experiences of earlier times are mirrored—those personal experiences which are intermingled with the general events of the day, affected by them, and altered also through the influence of training.

Pedagogy erects its educational structure upon the ability of the human mind (Seele) to remember. That is the foundation and the necessary presupposition for the mental and emotional development of the individual, as well as for the civilization (Kultur) of races. But for the aid of memory every attempt to influence the infantile mind (Seele) would be ineffective, and one could never succeed in teaching the child to take his proper place in the world, to submit to social custom—to the so-called "conventions." When using pun-

ishment for the child's good, we appeal to his power of memory; and we do the same with reference to each word of admonition, each word of affection, and every expression of good-will. Tiedemann[5] reports as follows with reference to his son then near the end of his second year: "On the twentieth of July he came upon a place in the house where he had been punished, about four weeks before, because he had made a mess there. Without other provocative cause than the sight of the familiar spot, instantly he said (not distinctly in entire words, but plainly enough to let this be recognized as his thought) that whoever "dirted" the room would get a good beating. Thus we see, that thoughts proceeding from that time of woe had remained with him. As we have learned, masochism and muscle-erotism take away from every punishment much of its painful character; and evidently they did not miss their effect in this case, in spite of the tender youth of the boy in question. The mind of the child receives impressions easily, all pleasure-accented ones in particular, and holds them hard and fast. For that reason, the "forgetting" of a command forbidding something or of an order to do something, is seldom a true forgetting but is one desired by (it represents a real desire of) "the subconscious." The unconsciously motivated forgetting is a form of forgetting which, as soon as it becomes a source of pleasure (lit. = as soon as the gain in pleasure is drawn from it), turns into a remembering. The child, like the adult, often forgets where he intends to forget,[6] only the motives for this process remain more thoroughly concealed from him than they do under like conditions from the grown person. It is significant that mothers are so often obliged to remind their children of the necessity of responding to their bodily needs; while this is rarely the case when the children are at meals, and then mostly if the food is little liked.[7] Conversely, the memory is very active[8] if only it is sufficiently well established upon an erotic basis (sexuell-erotisch fundiert). During a stay in the country, in his fourth year, my nephew let no day go by without passing his urine through a hole in a certain garden-fence, sooner or later, while he was out for a walk. And even now, after three years have passed, the memory of that board fence calls out a meaning smile.

Memory-images are of greatest importance in the learning of

[5] Tiedemann, *l. c.*, p. 34.

[6] He forgets what he does not want to remember. Trans.

[7] Thus with children, their own memories prove sufficient guides when supplemented by the influence of a hearty meal. Trans.

[8] It needs no additional influence. Trans.

letters and numbers during play. The majority of children from educated families know the alphabet and the numbers, wholly or in part, long before the beginning of the school-period. Most children teach themselves the letters from those found on business-signs, placards, hand-bills, etc. Surely it is of some consequence what kind of advertising media these are. My nephew had the liveliest interest in representations of scenes of jealousy and of murder, in the bill-posters of a moving-picture show, and likewise in the pictures of fights (especially of naked wrestlers); but he liked pictures designed for children, too (preferring scenes of punishment). He studied out for himself the letters and numbers on placards—also on the sign-boards of the electric street-cars. For instance, at three and a half years of age, he called the cars marked with a figure 8, "Pretzel-cars," "S-cars," "Snake-cars."

According to Preyer and others, memory controlled by will, namely, the act of recollecting (recalling) (das Sich-Besinnen), appears in the third year—but according to Stern, not until later. These acts are of supreme importance as having a direct bearing on education. For as soon as the child is able to subject his memories more and more to his will, and hence by turning voluntary attention to something in the past to have the power to summon it at pleasure from the store-house of memory—then the time has arrived when instruction and admonition will begin to have lasting influence. But at this stage of his life, the child also becomes acquainted with certain illusions of memory (Erinnerungstäuschungen), although, for reasons to be discussed later, he is apt to hold fast to them in spite of recognizing their true nature. Frequently it happens that (the process of) recollection appears first in relation to localities (places) where the child has had experiences of some sort which were of emotional importance. My nephew who was once to blame for his mother's missing a train because of his playing too long with a little dog, remembers the circumstances perfectly to this day—after three and a half years. Memories connected with time are more slowly established than those relating to place. To the child "once" is sometimes yesterday, sometimes a year ago, or longer yet. Children often get confused, also, in their attempts to make a selective use of the words "to-day" and "yesterday"; not because of a faulty word-memory, such as sometimes causes them to substitute "yesterday" for "to-morrow," or the reverse, but because of a memory-illusion in regard to time.

IV. Imagination (Die Phantasie).

Perhaps the power of mind which enables us to beautify the homeliest things, and to transform every-day occurrences into something wonderful, flutters its wings (so to speak) before the reason is able to put the fanciful creations into words. One is often amazed over the thought-associations which the child forms at a time when he is barely able to express himself in speech. The power of association and the power of memory are the substructure and the foundation-piles of the airy castles of the imagination. These are mental constructions which, however broad and high, are always based upon real experiences. Illusion and combination, supplementing each other, utilize as their materials the mental-images which past, present, and future supply, and melt or fuse them together, as it were; and the scope of this work of the imagination is infinitely wide. At no stage of life is the human being able to yield himself so unreservedly to the magic sway of the imagination as in the play-period. Sully designates the third to the fourth year of life as the highest point in the development of the imagination. On the one hand, at that period, everything is still new enough to the child to command his undivided attention, and he follows his instinct for investigation; on the other hand, his intelligence has been awakened to such an extent, through the environmental influences to which he has been exposed, as to be able to apperceive, and make some practical use of the impressions received. If one subscribes to the view that the work of the child's imagination is dependent on (determined by) the receptive power of his mind, one finds oneself in harmony with Herbart, who maintains that the imagination (Einbildungskraft) shows its strongest development in the seventh year of life. I think that such generalizations with regard to the working of the infantile mind are not of much value, for the reason that they do not take individual differences sufficiently into account. It should be borne in mind that the imagination is likewise peculiarly dependent, for the details of its development, upon the *milieu*. A child living in the country develops very differently from a child whose home is in the city. The power, the terror, and the beauty of the phenomena of nature—which the city-child has perhaps had no opportunity to observe—make a lasting impression on the soul of the country-child. The child growing up in the quiet of a village, invests the city—in his fancy—with enchantments that for the city-child have long since lost their magic charm. Also, more than one child, coming from the bustling crowd of a great city, and entering a forest for the first time, finds the aphorism prove itself literally

true, "He cannot see the forest, for the trees." Here fairy-tales—with their dark, pathless forests—have given rise to an idea far removed from reality, and imagination has promptly seized the thoughts and embellished them. Imagination peoples the forest with fabulous beings and monsters, with thieves and murderers, and thus prepares a fertile soil for fear. Are there not thousands of adults who are afraid of being surprised in a forest by darkness drawing on? In this they hold firmly to the old, long-forgotten childhood fear, even though they are unwilling to admit the truth of such a connection in thought.

There is not a single thing so insignificant but that imagination could lend it size and importance. For the child, imagination puts life into every piece of wood—to the boy a stick is a man-destroying soldier, to the little girl a stick becomes "a real live baby." All the poetry of the child's soul is rooted in imagination. Naturally, a sexually erotic (sexuell-erotische) note, too, makes itself conspicuous here. The little girl who rocks her doll or places it at her breast to nurse it, believes in the reality of her act. (It *is* what *she* thinks it to be.) She feels herself "a truly, truly mother," and she carries out all the measures for the care of dolly's body, with the same busy interest and the same tenderness as she sees her own mother do with a flesh and blood baby. The little girl does not forget to put into effect on her doll-child the scolding and the punishments which she herself has had to suffer upon occasion. Here, anal-erotism and sadism find a rich field for activity, in a positive sense as well as in the form of over-compensation. In the little mother's imitative house-keeping, the continual scouring and polishing, the over-industrious setting the house in order and arranging everything to suit her taste—these acts do not spring solely from a desire, on her part, for activity, but they must be recognized as a beginning of the repression of *forbidden* desires, of those longings which live themselves out, in their primitive form, in the game of "Doctor," and apear in phantasies under many different forms. During an autumn stay in the country at the home of a friend of his mother, my nephew, at that time three and a half years old, helped to dig up the cabbage-turnips. Suddenly he cried out: "Mammi!" (He called the lady by that name to distinguish her from his "Mutti.") "Mammi! Those that have dirty faces (=show bad spots) I shall place with the Popo (dem Strunk, the stalk end) up." Little Tiedemann,[1] at two years of age, gave a similar personal designation to the stalks of the white cabbage (Kraut). Scupin's[2] little boy loved dearly to

[1] Tiedemann, *l. c.*, p. 37.

[2] Scupin, *l. c.*, p. 80.

peel boiled potatoes; for to him they were "little naked things" (kleine Nackedei), and for that reason they were objects of affectionate regard; his imagination evidently converted the potato-skin into a dress—as of a child—and endowed the potato with human form, thus securing, virtually, a chance to indulge in a nakedness phantasy. Imagination rules the life of the child so powerfully that he gladly contributes something of his own personality to the creations of his fancy, and he takes it very ill when people around him do not recognize this fact. Stern[3] writes of his son, Günter: "In the case of our boy we noticed signs of the powerful influence of the imagination (Illusionsleben) at a very early age. There was a period (from two years and nine months to three years and six months, shortly after the birth of his little sister) in which, for hours at a time, during the day, he assumed the rôle of another person, and also assigned fanciful parts to other people. He calls himself merely 'big sister' (hosse (grosse) Schwester), but to his real *big* sister, Hilde, he gives various other names—'little Hester' (Schwester), 'Mize,' or 'Gettud.' His mother is 'Hossmutter' (Grossmutter, grandmother). On many days he is 'Muttsen' (mother), and in that rôle he takes care of his 'little' sister. The peculiar thing is that he carries out these ideas in situations of real life, too —at dinner, when dressing, etc.—and he is beside himself with rage if anybody wishes to correct his statements by giving the right names. He calls himself 'big sister' (hosse Hester) before strangers also. This fanciful self-deception plays a part even in his most highly emotional states. Although moved to tears, or in great excitement, he persists in holding to his phantasies, and this is true even for the hours of the night. One evening, not long ago, I heard him crying piteously in his bed, and in answer to my question, he complained disconsolately, that his little ball, and also the big one, had been lost on the Avenue. He begged that his 'grandmother' might go out in the morning with 'big sister' (himself) to find the balls; but he said that 'little Mize' must not go with them. How great his grief was over the loss of the balls is clear from this, that even the comforting assurance that a new ball should be bought for him was of no avail. 'No, don't *buy* a ball. *Find* the big ball and the little ball,' he sobbed; and yet with all his sorrow and wailing, he clung to the rôles as he had assigned them."

Sully mentions two sisters who proposed to play "being sisters"; and the "father and mother" game is just as ancient as that of "mother and child." Now the question comes: Why does the child

[3] Stern, Erinnerung, Aussage, u. Lüge, p. 104.

literally live himself into the rôle of one or another member of the family with such intensity that he not only refuses to give up this phantasy himself, but also demands of other people that they shall respect it, as if real? I shall point out, later: in the first place, what an immense influence parents and brothers and sisters exert in the love-life of the child; in the next place, how an addition to the family seldom gives him a feeling of pleasure, since the little newcomer robs him of a part of the parental love; and finally, how each child tends to become envious of that parent who is of the same sex with himself, and how—by the aid of the creative power of imagination—he endeavors to secure for himself *in fancy,* and by way of compensation, certain results for which he longs but which, in reality, he must forego. When little Ernst Wolfgang Scupin,[4] in his fourth year, said of his own accord: "But I shall put my papa in a soup-kettle and pour hot water over his face, all the time, with the ladle until he is nice and tender, and then I'll eat him up" the child gave expression to a phantasy of a sort that is not to be traced back solely to the fairy-tale of "Hänsel and Gretel" with the witch, but that voices the unconscious purpose of conveniently ridding oneself of "papa," the most dangerous rival near "mamma"; and the fairy-tale simply provides a cloak which serves to clothe the evil wish in harmless form. Little Günter S—, shortly after the birth of his little sister, began to play the parts of certain other members of the family in a way that was quite significant, now assuming the rôle of "big sister," now that of "mother." In short, since he had been thrust out of his place as youngest and most important member of the family, he took on (in fancy) the character of "mother" (who cares for everybody, and hence is very much needed), or he sought, at least, to have himself regarded as "the older sister."

In his play, where the power of phantasy makes itself so strongly felt, the child begins to show his interest in the difference between the sexes, and it is characteristic of him when he assumes a new rôle that it is usually that of a person of the same sex with himself. Boys, in particular, directly refuse to take either a woman's part or that of a little girl. This tendency should be regarded as indicating what a serious matter play is to the young child, and also what youthful ambition is striving to accomplish. He wishes to represent himself as occupying positions of no less importance than those held by persons who have some real or imagined advantage over others. For that reason, in playing war, the boy wishes to be a

[4] Scupin, *l. c.,* p. 81.

"General," and will consent only unwillingly to be a common soldier, but if he must be the latter, he makes himself conspicuous, at any rate, through special courage or else through qualities which would bring him the reputation of badness;[5] he prefers, for instance, to be a robber rather than a gendarme on pay. And, so too, the little girl would rather be "the lady of the house" than "the cook," and rather "the mother" than "the child." But whenever a subordinate part is taken, an ambitious child always learns to compensate himself therefor by indulging in imaginary excesses of one or another sort. In all such games the child wishes the semblance of reality to be preserved, and he insists on the constant recognition of this by his environment—to be sure, only while the game lasts. When from four to six years of age, my nephew loved to play with his aunt a game which he called "teamster"; in playing this game, however, he took the part of "express-agent," "station-master," or "building-contractor," while she, as the veritable "teamster," had to pretend to be a regular block-head, so as to give him ample opportunity for grumbling and scolding. It went very much against the child's will when the "teamster," having been treated all too rudely, suddenly declared he wouldn't stand that, he was going to the police to enter a complaint. "No, no! Aunt H—," replied the little rogue, "You mustn't dare do that. That's no way to play!" Little Scupin,[6] too, used to take it very ill if his mother did not enter into his plan and accept his play-inventions the instant he chose to make himself, for example, "a letter-carrier" or "a merchant." At the centre of all these games a deeply embedded "cause" lies like a sort of core. For in thus playing, the child is able to live-out his hostile impulses toward his parents, brothers, and sisters without being obliged to fear punishment, as he can stop his play at any moment. Only in play does he refuse obedience; only in play does he speak against his brothers and sisters, beating and insulting them while dolls bear their names; and only in play does he gain the chance to exercise a tyranny which the traditions of the nursery would not tolerate. Indeed, if one or the other of his parents has recently drawn upon himself (or herself) a feeling of disapproval on the part of the little critic, he understands how to voice this criticism in plain terms in the "papa and mamma" game. But the child also has a chance, in imagination, to do good deeds, for the performing of which both the will and the power fail him in actual life.

A special place in the child's phantasy-life belongs to the fes-

[5] Shakespeare's Richard III, Act I, Sc. 1.

[6] Scupin, *l. c.*, p. 151.

tivals which are celebrated regularly in the family, and above all to Christmas with its measureless mystery and charm. For a long while the intelligent child, rich in imagination (phantasiereich), holds firmly to his belief in the Christ-Child, the Weihnachtsmann, St. Nicholas, and Krampus—even if at times he also boasts of his superiority to this fairy-tale lore. The supernatural, the wonderful, is such an essential element of the child's reveries that he leaves this sphere of thought only against his will, for unconsciously he feels that with the ceasing of the beautiful child-faith much of the poetry of life goes too. Goltz[7] writes: "Upon the whole, I always enjoyed miracles better than I did the rational explanations of them—those explanations which, examined closely, in broad daylight, so to speak —led me further than ever into the thick wood; and I have seldom wished to annoy a person with inquiries concerning what I have felt, in my very soul, to be something miraculous." To the child the brightly lighted Christmas-tree is a live thing, *a living being* (Wesen) from another, mysterious world—and this would be so to him, even if he had seen ever so many Christmas-trees in the market the day before. When a child myself, I never could help being surprised that "very ordinary" people sold them. A certain little girl of six years begs earnestly that the Christmas-tree be not burned after the holidays, "because that hurts the Christ-Child." And for the same reason a boy of five years old refused to eat the little angel-shaped cakes from the Christmas-tree. "No, no!" he cried. "If I do, I shall have to bite the Christ-Child's wings off." As a result of this tendency of the childish phantasy to endow with life everything belonging to the Christmas festival, an impression is made of which traces remain even in advanced years. Poetic natures retain for themselves an unadmitted remnant of the old belief in the wonder-workings of the Weihnachtsmann, and show this in the warnings they are so fond of giving to the children not to touch the manger and the angel (Krippe und Engel), and not to regard the decorated tree—or the ornaments from it—as mere toys.

The work of the imagination is shown at its best in the child's power of living over the pleasures of the holiday season *before they come to pass*. All his life no adult ever forgets the secret doings in his parents' home at Christmas; the listening at the door, the excitement of the waiting for mother to return from making purchases. These are fore-pleasures for which the child has a great fondness. My nephew, in spite of having declared positively, upon a certain occasion as early as in his fourth year, that he knew there

[7] Goltz, *l. c.*, p. 162.

was no Christ-Child, that the presents came from father, mother, and aunts, nevertheless did not fail, even as late as when six years old, to ask daily, at Christmas time, whether we had seen the Christ-Child and what he had said. Indeed, Max, of his own accord, prepared a notebook for the Christ-Child to read in which "Mutti" was obliged to enter her son's "good deeds" (Bravheiten) on the left-hand side, and his "bad deeds" (Schlimmheiten) on the right-hand side; and for every good deed done she had to strike out a bad deed. And if it happened that he did not want to go to sleep at night, then the question: "Is Maxi asleep?" spoken in the disguised voice of his great-aunt, always had a good effect. Invariably came the reply: "Yes, Christ-Child, I am going to sleep now. Good night, Christ-Child." Whereupon the latter had to say, in a soft voice: "Good night, Maxi." In the same way, from his third to his seventh year, his interest in the Christ-Child's "work-shop" remained constantly active; and rain and snow came to have, for little Max, anal and urethral associations of an erotic sort related to fancied operations there. It seemed to him a self-understood thing, that grown people should telephone to this mystic spot; and without our knowing the association for it in his thought, the number "VIII, 568" was invented as telephone-number for the place from which presents generally came. The telephone subdivisions were: (1) the Christ-Child, (2) St. Nicholas, (3) the Easter rabbit, (4) the Birthday-Man, and (5) the Nameday-Man. This is an up-to-date improvement on the time-worn custom among children of writing letters to the Christ-Child. The "list of wishes" also plays a great part in the life of my nephew. Perhaps this childish habit, especially when it is carried to excess, is to be regarded as the forerunner of the passion for making out catalogues, inventories, etc.—a practice which many adults affect under a sort of compulsion.

As the thoughts of children revolve about Christmas with special delight, so Easter in its turn forms a similar centre of interest for the imagination. In his subconscious self what child doubts the reality of the Easter rabbit? Scupin's Bubi[8] makes drawings and clay-models of it, and hopes to meet it on his daily walks. He thinks of the rabbit as dispenser of small gifts, even after Easter has passed; and he attributes the fact that a hole was darned in his stocking during the night to the friendly intervention of the little creature. The reason for this very lively interest in the Easter rabbit, on the child's part, is that through the associations connected therewith the problem as to the origin of living beings presses for

[8] Scupin, *l. c.*, pp. 153, 210.

an answer. With tears falling from his eyes, my nephew refused to eat the little Marzipan chickens and rabbits, because, he said (regardless of scientific considerations), "They are the children of the Easter rabbit."

The refusal of children to eat sweets shaped like animals or like human beings—a notion which occasionally passes over into its opposite—is so common that a deeper motive than that usually ascribed to it must be thought of as really operative; such refusals show that the child's mind, in bestowing the attributes of a person upon inanimate things, passes in feeling through the entire scale of love and hate. Kindly feelings, and cruel ones as well, are actively engaged in the production of phantasies; but the child often abandons his extravagant fancies for sound common sense when he is warned, for example, that whipping might hurt the little horse or the doll. "It does not feel anything; it is only wood" is the regular reply of sober reason, which, it is true, is likely to be suppressed again in the next moment by the imagination. A similar acknowledgment of the claims of reason appears in little Scupin's refusal when playing with his tin soldiers to allow those who had been shot down to have a victory, in their turn, over the enemy. "If the 'red ones' have already shot the 'blue ones' dead, then the 'blue ones' cannot get up and shoot the 'red ones.'" The infantile (kindlich) phantasy takes its own paths, and no path is too steep for it; imagination finds a way out in every emergency, but will not let itself be forced by another person's intelligence (von fremdem Geist).

The making of plans with regard to a future vocation, by younger or older children, likewise falls within the province of the imagination; although just here the suggestive influence of the adult is not to be underestimated. The question which strangers constantly direct to boys, in particular: "What are you going to be?" is now replied to, in but few cases, with a logically framed "Nothing"—as my nephew used to answer at the age of from three to five years. Frequently, from sexual reasons, which Freud discusses in his "Drei Abhandlungen zur Sexualtheorie,"[9] the boy's wish is to become a "coachman" or a "conductor"; or, again, a "General," or "the Kaiser"—which psycho-analytic experience teaches us to interpret as "father." That this interpretation does, in truth, express the child's mental attitude with accuracy is shown by the oft-cited comment as to the glorious amount of freedom the children would have then, and how the imaginary Kaiser would do everything which father prohibits at home. The son's choice is apt to fall, at last, on

[9] English translation Nerv. and Ment. Dis. Monograph Series, No. 7.

the vocation of the father, it is true, but not until the boy has hesitated long between a number of others, of very varied sorts; and even then he is often moved, by unconscious feelings of hostility, to abandon this decision. A boy who, at five years of age, was passionately fond of his father, at that time wanted to be nothing else but "a teacher, like papa." Family quarrels, however, estranged the child from his father to such an extent that when the former was in his tenth year he entertained a dislike and contempt for the latter, and declared: "I shall not be a teacher. That is altogether too small a position for me. I shall be a university professor." Naturally, he had no suspicion that it was the remnant of his strong love that determined him, nevertheless, to choose the profession of teacher. A vocation which seems to almost every boy the finest goal possible is that of architect, or of engineer. This preference is connected in great part, of course, with the boy's interest in his favorite toy, his box of building blocks. Indeed, he carries on his building with every material which comes to hand—sand, clay, mud, dough, stones, bits of wood, empty thread-spools, etc., all of which are alike welcome. My nephew, when in his sixth year, used to amuse himself, for a time, every day, by constructing a water-closet out of a meat-platter and glass knife-rests. There was always a play door (Spieltür), and he never forgot to divide off the space into compartments for men and for women, respectively. A bottle-cork formed the lantern (he said) "so that the people could find the closet in the night-time." Another boy, of five years, built in the garden a fortress with ten gates and twenty "toilets"—"for the many, many soldiers." In this fashion does the childish fancy, even during play, select those paths which we have already learned to know in speaking of anal and urethral erotism. But love makes the boy build beautiful villas and palaces for his mother, too. They are intended for the mother, her son, and his wife and children. There is never room for other people. Once when my nephew was making building plans, I interrupted him by saying: "Well! And am I not to have any apartment in your house?" "No," he declared. "there is no room for you there; and you don't want to live in the country all the time." Then he added, hesitatingly: "Well, if you will have it so, you shall have a room under the mansard-roof; there you will have the most quiet." In that way the boy relieved himself of all the annoying and inconvenient "being together" with other people, while he considered their wishes also. If in the case of the little girl, in the later years of the so-called "play-age," the feeling of modesty bars out many forms of play that call attention to the sex-

instinct, yet she does not fail to admonish her dolls (in all seriousness) to attend to their bodily needs. The delight of a little girl of from six to seven years of age, over a doll given her by her uncle, knew no bounds; it was a doll whose mechanism permitted a genuine movement of the bowels (Verdauung) to be imitated. The child's joyful account of it to us left no doubt what a fine choice her uncle had made: "The whole afternoon we have been giving the doll something to eat, because then she can 'make' (do) it all over again; and we have always made her clean after it, too." Once, in the same year, when the little girl—after playing a piece successfully on the piano—was asked what she wished to be, she declared naïvely: "A mamma." As psycho-analysis shows, a poorly repressed anal and urethral erotism very often causes the care of her child's body to be an (unadmitted) source of pleasure to the grown woman. And certainly anal and urethral erotism influences boys very powerfully in the choice of the future vocation, just as it does girls, and that at an early age, because subconscious wishes lead them to desire to act out freely these components of the sexual impulse.

In the question as to the origin of children a very broad field is opened to the infantile imagination. Only at a very early age do most children feel satisfied with the fairy-tale of the stork and of the lake full of children. Soon, the change in the mother's form during a new pregnancy, and then the "confinement" (Wochenbett) itself, both lead to the first doubts in regard to the truth of these stories. The time arrives before long when children think it impossible, or unlikely, that keeping the little new arrival warm is the only reason why their mother has to stay in bed. Thus a four-year-old little girl who sees herself incommoded and the customary order of the household disturbed by the birth of a little brother, declares that she wants to put herself in bed in mother's place and warm the baby, so that mother can get up and prepare breakfast. Likewise, the fable that the stork has bitten mother in the leg does not retain power over children for any length of time. At most, this fate is looked upon as a just punishment upon mother, because she wished to have another child. A five-year-old boy who received with aversion the news that he would have a little brother or a sister in the near future, expressed his opinion on the day after the birth: "It serves mother right, that the stork bit her so hard as to make her cry; I do not need a brother." This hostile attitude toward an undesired addition to the family arouses in the infantile mind death-phantasies and death-wishes toward the little intruder; although then, as a matter of reaction, these tendencies shift to ex-

cessive tenderness. W. Stern[10] records as follows with reference to the second half of the third year of his oldest daughter, Hilde (the little brother, Günter, was about six months old at the time): "In an imagined conversation (Phantasiegespräch) with her doll to whom she is showing a picture-book, she says: 'Just look, dolly, look! That's a perfectly lovely picture, isn't it?' (Dolly says 'yes.') (Mother: 'You must tell her what is in the picture.') 'Aunts, and uncles, and Günter; and he's dead.'" Stern thinks that "dead" is put in the place of "lying down"; while in truth, here too, the Freudian conception of an unconscious death-wish might well count as correct. Compayré tells of a four-year-old boy who, armed with a knife, bent over the cradle of a ten-months-old infant and disfigured its face terribly. Unfortunately, the information is lacking, in this report, as to whether these children were of the same family. As Freud and Rank have shown, infantile sexual theories are connected, as a rule, with the process of digestion. Since the little child rarely knows anything about the function of the vagina, birth either through the anus or as an act of vomiting seems to him entirely natural. Occasionally one meets with the idea that the child is born from the breast, more frequently yet from the navel; that is to say, either through spontaneous bursting of the body, or through forcible cutting open. The first view might beget in the child the pleasure in cracking seed-pods and in bursting buds; the latter view is mostly to be found in those children who, by listening, have heard something as to the act of birth (Gebärakt)—some word or something done.

In spite of the fact that the small child is satisfied with the theory that the mother is the only person who is responsible for an increase in the family; and that the question, "How does the child get into the mother's body?" usually arises, for the first time, in later years of childhood, nevertheless, it is not uncommon to find even very young children meditating upon the problems here involved. The usual explanation of the origin of children is based on the digestion idea; the eating of a fruit, of a fish, etc., is the essential factor; and this idea, which harks back to fairy-tales, can best be brought into harmony with the notion of the anal birth. Whatever gets separated from the body in that way, must first be taken in through the mouth —hence, as food. Linked to this phantasy comes the oft-heard joke warning the child that he must take care not to swallow fruit-pips or else a fruit-tree will grow in his stomach. Moreover, the increase in size of the mother's body even to shapelessness, agrees very

[10] C. u. W. Stern, Kindersprache, p. 62.

well with the infantile idea of what happens. This change is of a sort that no child fails to notice. A purposeful repression, which has nothing to do with childlike ingenuousness, is already to be seen in the child's significant and insistent silence. The child from whom these processes have not been kept secret as a forbidden thing, to be met with averted gaze, expresses himself quite objectively and without embarrassment in regard to the change in a pregnant woman's body: "See, Mutti! That lady is going to have a little baby, pretty soon"—testified my four-year-old nephew, to the indignation of several ladies traveling with us in a railroad-coupé—while the future father replied to the little fellow: "Yes, and we hope it will be as clever a little boy as you are."

To the child the sexual act appears no whit less embellished by phantasy-pictures. To this statement the objection might be urged that as a rule a well-guarded little child knows nothing about such things; but in making such remonstrance, one forgets how often, in the best families, the custom prevails of putting the smallest children to bed in the sleeping-room of the parents—doing so from the mistaken idea that the child will sleep the whole night, and so all the intimacies of the parents will be kept secret from him. Now, as a matter of experience, there are a great many children who wake up, as a regular thing, shortly after their parents have gone to rest; children do this from wishing, subconsciously, to intervene in the sexual proceedings, concerning which they have learned just enough to think of them as something special and secret, because something done in the dark. When the child becomes somewhat older, often he keeps very quiet in his little bed, in order to spy out more. The sexual act often seems to children a "rough and tumble" fight in which the stronger person (Teil) overcomes the weaker. The following interpretation, actually given by a small boy, is by no means unique: "When mother has made father angry, in the day-time, he straps her to the bed, at night, and beats her." All the child's observations with regard to the details of the sexual intercourse of his parents make him think of it as maltreatment and punishment, and thus serve as fuel for his own sadistic tendencies. From such experiences the boy, in particular, is likely to acquire an over-strong self-consciousness, a desire for mastery which finds expression by day-light under the form of fierceness and ungovernable temper, showing themselves in games and sports.

How keen the little child's faculty of observation is in the sexual field (Gebiet), how luxuriant his imagination is in relation to such matters, is illustrated by the statement of a lady who remembers, as

an experience of her later childhood, that she had always been afraid her mother would hurt her father during the night. It is doubtless true that the little girl's suppressed feelings of hostility toward her parents speak out in this thought; but the origin of the fear is not solely explained by that. This lady, when a child of six or seven years, shared the sleeping-room of her father and mother, and often saw her strong mother bending over her father who was of a delicate constitution. Although the child was not able to understand the significance of this position, yet frequently she played with her younger, less robust, sister the game of "man and wife" where she herself, being the stronger child, took pleasure in kneeling upon her weaker sister, with the threat: "I'll squeeze you to death." In the popular game of "father and mother" the child's imagination lives itself out to the limit; the chance of keeping the exhibition-impulse busy, and of allowing the looking-impulse (Schaulust) full play, often counts as the object and stipulation of "getting married." In his "Sammlung kleiner Schriften zur Neurosenlehre" Freud[11] introduces instructive cases illustrating the infantile group of ideas (Vorstellungskomplex) in regard to the sexual relations between man and wife. These are cases which are to be taken as paradigms for the usual course of development of the child in this realm of thought and fancy. In the first place, the child has to seek some way of reconciling his fairy-tale lore with his actual observations. In no other sphere of interest does he find himself met with so many lies and such obtrusive hypocrisy as he does here. And when to these are added the jokes of adults who think they do not need to take care what they say before the child, the conditions are secured for the rapid growth of that unconscious desire which listens eagerly to catch every slightest hint at disclosures bearing on the relations which are kept so carefully shrouded in mystery. The sexual phenomena in the life of animals confront the child very early, and—through the connecting-link of the defecation-process, with which he is familiar—become of such great interest to him that even when his knowledge is still slight, an understanding of the true state of things soon dawns upon him. For that reason, teachers and psychologists have proposed, repeatedly, to unite sex-enlightenment with observations made in the animal-world (kingdom) and that of plants—but with little prospect of result, it seems to me, as long as the stork is still brought in to account for the origin of human beings. For sex-enlightenment only one thing is needed, namely the substitution—at the outset—of the right explanation for the wrong one. Why the

[11] Freud, Über infantile Sexualtheorien.

evasion, the story about the stork, the lake with the children, and so forth? As soon as the child's intelligence puts the first question as to the origin of children, the answer should give the truth, framed in accordance with the child's power to take it in. How cleverly and how delicately Frau Scupin discusses this subject with her five-year-old little son! If every mother found the right words at the right moment, many a child would be spared brooding on these things, and then he would be kept from a form of thinking which makes his parents seem impure to him and which debases man's highest sentiments. And if, with fine tact like that of the mother mentioned, the (model) mother were to add that the child should keep his knowledge to himself, because every mother wishes to explain in person to her child how life becomes incarnate, she would have no cause to dread the premature awakening of a sensuality destined to lead the child to forbidden act or speech. I have heard of a four-year-old little boy, from whom the truth had not been withheld, who proudly revealed to another child that it grew in its mother's body, whereupon the mother of the latter refused to let the two children play together any longer, saying: "What a depraved boy that is! The stork brought my children." But in doing this, she committed an error much worse than that of the first child. The more natural the origin of the human being is made to seem to the child, the less the subject will occupy his thoughts and be manipulated by his imagination. Whether one should connect information relating to the propagation of the species with manifestations of plant-life or of animal-life, or with the child's own observation of women about to become mothers, is a problem which admits of no general answer. But certainly the instruction should be given before the child has opportunity to spy into the intimacies of his parents; for through the influence of this premature spying, the child is robbed of the best part of his frankness and simplicity. It is not to be denied that it is far easier to make the birth-process comprehensible to the child than it is to explain to him the rôle of the father. Before the question "But how does the baby get into the mother's body?" the mother, as wife, often comes to a halt. The mother who without shyness has told her child how he lived a long time in her body, and grew there until the place became too small and dark for him, and how he freed himself from his prison and caused his mother much pain in doing so; such a mother will hesitate to tell more. Even the most intelligent women shrink from speaking about the most intimate of the relations between man and wife. Much, much time will elapse before the prejudice will have disappeared

against telling the truth about this also, at the moment when the child's reason (Verstand) and feeling (Gemüt) demand it. But if, in instructive words, it is made clear to the child that this act is an expression of the highest love, and is only possible to grown people, there should be hardly more cause to fear that the childish imagination will become overstimulated than it would be, perhaps, upon hearing a description of the work of an engineer, etc. Moreover it seems that Nature herself has drawn the boundary-lines at which, at different ages of the child, his curiosity comes to a standstill. My nephew, an exceedingly intelligent little fellow, who shies at no question when it concerns something which appears to him worth knowing, was informed very early about the origin of animals and of human beings—a task which was made substantially easier through the fact of his living in the country. At four years of age, he recognized, from the growth of the teats, that an animal was about to have young; and he applied that (fact) to the females of his environment. He protects and feeds animals that are big with young; and he is full of chivalrous attention to pregnant women. But even now, when he is six and a half years old, it is a matter of indifference to him *how* this state of pregnancy comes to exist; indeed, he seems to believe that it comes of itself when the woman is at a certain age, and that preparation is made therefore in early childhood. At least, a remark of his—made after a visit from a seven-year-old friend—points to this view: "Erna will have three children, some day; I heard them fighting inside of her."

The prejudices which continue to prevent a natural, free method of enlightenment in the handling of the sexual problem in the education of children, form the turbid springs whence many unfortunate things flow that are disturbing to adult life. The psychic impotence of the husband which places serious limitations alike on his power of work and his power of enjoyment, the anesthesia of the wife through which both (husband and wife) are cheated of marital satisfaction, have root quite frequently in distorted ideas on sex-matters and in perverted sexual demands made by one or the other party. These longings which thus keep their hold so strongly are the ineradicable remains of infantile sex-theories. In the woman, in particular, there is retained (from her infancy) a certain sense of guilt, the painful feeling of having taken part in something disgusting and forbidden (etwas Hässlichem und Verbotenem).

A fertile field is opened, to the child's imagination, in the realm of the fairy-tale. Scarcely one of these creations but derives its power from those references—to love and hate, to kindness and

cruelty—that are of a sort to stir the emotions of even the youngest child very deeply. The queen who longs in vain for children, and whose wish a kind fairy finally fulfills through the gift of a piece of fruit; the king's daughter who chooses the shepherd for her lord and consort; the prince who goes forth to fight dragons and other monsters in order to show himself worthy of the love of his dear lady; such tales as these awaken in the child's heart the same sympathetic response as is aroused by the thousand and one distresses of the seven roes, or by the mortal fear of Little Red Riding-hood. How closely the child follows every detail of the story, and how ruthlessly he corrects every variation from the text and fills in every omission. My sister, even in her third year, refused to allow the slightest changes in the once-heard wording. Woe unto our aunt, the indefatigable story-teller of our nursery, if she related as follows: "And soon after that the queen had a child."—"No, no!" the little critic would interrupt, "not until after a year," or, "No, you have left out 'again'; it is her second child." If carping criticism permits no change of text to go uncensured, yet imagination takes care that the little listeners forget their real environment, time and place, and also that they feel with the hero of the fairy-tale, suffer with him the most terrible tortures of hunger and thirst, and experience with him all the terrors of the dark forest. When the story-hour is at an end, how often the child refuses to go into a dark room alone, yes even into the neighboring room; for the monsters and the ghostly figures follow him, he feels himself still under the spell of the fairy-tale, and only slowly and reluctantly can he free himself from the enchantment, from the mental cocoon in which he has enwrapped himself. It is certain that sexual feelings and emotions play an important part in all this. The analysis of neurotic patients has shown that fear often excites libidinous stirrings; and not a few adults who have remained in good health can remember that while listening intently when fairy-tales were being told, pleasurable sensations were experienced in the genital organs—sensations (Organempfindungen) similar to those during onanistic activity in the later years of youth. The pressing together of the thighs, the stretching of the body—or pressing the arms against it, the unnatural holding of the breath—are signs which are readily to be noticed by any person who observes a child attentively when he is listening to fairy-tales. Indeed, masturbatory acts frequently accompany the listening to such stories. At four years of age, my nephew stated, with no idea of the impropriety: "Mother, when you tell me fairy-stories at night, I press my little tip (his

'membrum') so hard between my legs (Schenkel) that it is all hot and stiff." "Sitting tight" (close), as children call the act of keeping still when stories are told, remains characteristic of many people; and young girls, in particular, are often heard to complain: "I have been sitting still so long, reading novels, that it has made me very stiff." Under such conditions, the flushed cheeks and shining eyes complete the picture of sexual excitement.

Imagination enables the child to conjure up everything which he thinks worth wishing for. Nature, especially, is transformed through the creative power of the imagination, so as to conform to the child's momentary feeling and wishes. Goltz writes: "What all child-phantasies, almost without exception, have in common is the conception of an entirely new and unknown world beyond the apparent horizon." Perhaps, in this notion, is expressed the desire to reach, at last, the final solution of life's riddle; and this same hope and wish may also lie at the root of the boy's pleasure in starting out on adventures and in making journeys. Naturally, to the child, "the entirely new and unknown world" is such a one in which even greater love will be given him than at home, a world in which there will be no laws (Gebot) and no prohibitions (Verbot)—no "must" and "must not"—a world in which his own will is to be the only thing that counts. This making of a world of one's own, a kingdom which lies apart from everyday life and is not connected with it, is a tendency rather distinctive of the child. To mark off a corner of the room for himself and his playmates, to call a piece of ground in the garden his own—be it never so small—is the child's desire and delight. In this space he feels himself sole ruler; here he brings together the secret treasures from his pocket; here he nourishes his sentiments of revolt; here he hides himself when his mother's voice calls him from play. "In childhood one feels the poetry of the corner, of the space divided off from the common space. In this longing for a place set apart from the space around it, a little world in the midst of a great one, the child instinctively seeks expression for a common need, and his hut-building has its poetic justification no less than had the building of the 'Holy of Holies' in the Temple of Solomon."[12] I have always noticed that this seeking for a quiet nook is to be found especially with those children in whose homes certain rooms—whether a reception-room for callers, or father's "den" (Arbeitszimmer)—are "forbidden territory" to young people. But the space under the table or beneath the pianoforte is also "a place of refuge" from threatened punishment. Per-

[12] See Goltz, p. 256.

haps this retreat reminds them of mother's lap where very little children take refuge from every new impression. With almost all children the preference for "hiding-places" extends to the attic and the cellar. The view of "the entirely new and unknown world" to be had from the one, and the fear-creating darkness of the other, attract the child ever anew. If one considers how well adapted such private corners are to many a forbidden pleasure, then their never-failing fascination (Zauber) is easily explained. Possibly the deepest root of the infantile fancy (fondness) for quiet corners is to be sought in phantasies pertaining to the prenatal state in the uterus; the testimonies of neurotic patients, treated psycho-analytically, speak in favor of this view.

Although manifestations of fear belong to the sphere of the emotional life, nevertheless it appears to me not inappropriate to speak of fear in connection with its powerful promoter, the imagination. Compayré designates fear as "the characteristic emotion of the child," and Stanley Hall in his able (geistvoll) investigation into fear has given us a deep insight into its nature and its forms, most of which date from early childhood. The first-named investigator sees in fear "a vague apprehension of a possible evil" and attributes the origin of fear to the coöperation of intelligence and imagination. It is true that, in our more mature years, the critical power of reason exercises a restraining influence upon the over-zealous imaginative-faculty and greatly tempers the creative efforts of the fancy, but in the case of children the conditions are quite different. In consequence of the instability of the child's ideas, the limited scope of his experience, and the relatively small amount of information at his command, his intelligence works under such great difficulties, that the imagination easily gets the upper hand in situations which are strange or unusual. Thus arises the fear of everything new, and the fear of the dark. Both of these are the expression of increased need of love (necessity for it). With the child the darkness loses much of its terror the instant he feels that he is not alone. He gropes after a protecting hand; he wishes at least to hear the voice of a loved person. Indeed, by singing and talking as if to someone else, he deceives himself into thinking that he hears such a voice. And so, if the manifestations of love are not to be obtained outside of himself, he turns to his personal thoughts and feelings as to a place of refuge. The child approaches everything new, everything unknown, with tacit demands for signs of love (in the broadest sense of the word), yet at the same time with an underlying dread lest these longings be not gratified. With respect to persons this expec-

tation of love is obvious from the very beginning, but the same (hope) holds good also in regard to inanimate things, for to the child's imagination every object is alive; and if for "love" we substitute "gain in pleasure," then the situation becomes clearer.

It happens frequently, in earliest childhood, that other fears join themselves to these two most primitive forms (novelty and the dark); and these secondary fears originate, regularly, in sex-repressions. But since sexual-erotic (sexuell-erotisch) experiences are of one or another sort according to the individual concerned, the feeling of fear does not have the same history with all children. It may, nevertheless, be affirmed as always true that fear makes its home in those same secret places of the soul in which those phantasies have their birth that spring from the unappeased libido and unsatisfied curiosity, and that intensify both. The former is provided with new nourishment by this feeling of fear which also gives (or attempts to give) to the latter the reply to those questions on sex-matters which the children's adult guardians have declined to encourage.[13] Everything that the child hears and sees, but fails wholly or partially to grasp, concerning the sexual relations among men and animals, is stowed away in his mind; and in the course of the struggle for clearness of comprehension, the phantoms of fear arise. They grow to be of such enormous size that the young mind breaks beneath the burden of them. If the analysis of these extreme cases does not fall strictly within the scope of this treatise, nevertheless the boundary-line between normal and pathological mental occurrences is so hard to draw, that it is difficult to speak of the fears of a healthy child without touching upon the phobias of neurotics.

The methods employed in education need to be scrutinized afresh with reference to this fear-problem; for the emotion of fear often arises as the result of a faulty training in childhood, and it may rest with education to determine whether the tendency to fear becomes diminished or increased. The fear of punishment, the fear of ghostly figures of avenging Justice, etc., are often to be traced back either to excessive severity, or to a failure on the part of teachers to exercise due authority. The child should obey from love; if this is felt in his heart, then no threats of punishment will be required—no invocation of "bugaboos" (Wauwau), and the like, will be needed if the teacher inspires love. Moreover, if the relations between the child and the adults with whom he comes in contact are of the right sort and marked by the proper mixture of authority and affection, the fear of animals will be less likely to arise; especially

[13] Thus taking an unsympathetic attitude toward child-problems. Trans.

if such adults—whom the child is sure to take as models for himself, in points of attitude and conduct—do not behave in such a way as to suggest habits of fear to him. Fear is frequently a source of erotic gratification to the child and acquires, for this reason, a tone of pleasure and a tone of distress; and it is this doubleness of tenddency (ambivalence) that explains the infectiousness of fear.

V. Reasoning (Die Vernunft)

If mentally "taking in" the surrounding world, so to speak, is the necessary preliminary to activity of the imagination, it is not to be denied that the latter has a retroactive effect upon the formation of the judgment, and upon the reasoning processes (Urteil und Schluss). Imagination is like the locomotive steam-boiler which provides ever new energy, while the intelligence is, in a certain sense, like the constant water-supply which guards against overheating, and at the same time the brake which prevents derailment. Thus characterized by this reciprocal interplay of forces, with now one tendency coming forward into prominence, now the other, the intellectual and emotional life of the infant unrolls itself before our gaze. Over against the realistic element in his make-up, which leads the little child to grasp things as they are, to test their practical value and judge them accordingly, there stands, in striking contrast, the idealistic, the dreaming element which urges him to spin himself into a web of ideas which have nothing in common with reality except certain central points (Kerne). He is inclined, from earliest days, to investigate things over-critically, to brood over them; he loves, at times, to shut himself away from playmates and to live in a dream-world which he knows how to guard with anxious care from the gaze of strangers. But even at his early age the experience acquired under the supervision of the intelligence is accepted as controller of the imagination. Only under conditions of morbid over-excitement does phantasy free herself from these confining fetters. With the normally endowed child reason retains the supremacy in order not to let the little builder of air-castles forget that the most beautiful dreams vanish before reality; in spite of that, the youthful idealist collides with the hard things of everyday life far more frequently than does the realist, who takes things in a matter-of-fact way as they present themselves to him. In this natural endowment of the child lies the nucleus of the future directive power of the mind, the tendencies that later are to determine his choice of a vocation and his attitude toward the universe as a whole. But this natural endowment is of importance for the sexual interests

also. Certain influences and tendencies that are significant for the life of men and animals alike remain unnoticed by the dreamy child much longer than by the practical child. The latter, it is true, is satisfied comparatively easily with an explanation which seems sensible to him; but the child given to meditation thinks the explanation over; imagination twines its entangling tendrils around the truth, and in the child's little head the true and the false become confused, giving rise to a state of chaos in which it is hard for him to get his bearings. The conflict for supremacy between reason and imagination is clearly evident, not only as between different individuals, but also in one and the same child. Occupation, environment, the occurrences of family-life influence mental development (die Richtung des Geisteslebens) to a remarkable extent; and a child who in the midst of the busy whirl of the doings at home feels practical interest in everything may appear to be a wholly different sort of person when transferred to the quiet environment of his grandparents' home. The tranquility of old age, to which he is unaccustomed; the many objects belonging to a period of time of which he knows nothing, a time of which grandmother has so much to tell, so much that is beautiful and like a fairy-story—all represent influences that work powerfully upon the imagination of the child. All at once, out of the realist is made a quiet dreamer who sees the house full of the ghosts of by-gone days.

The practical proof of intelligence in the very little child comes in his making a selection from among the objects offered him. As in early infancy, so also in the play-period, the understanding exercises a certain choice with regard to the matters brought before it. While one child has an eye for color especially, and soon learns to recognize by their colors the various things he sees, to distinguish between them and to take pleasure in them, another directs his whole attention to the form, and a third may prefer to listen to tones and to sounds, and to found his judgment on these attributes, whereas color and form are of little interest to him. Thus the observation of the direction in which the intelligence is especially active when the child is very young permits one to draw justifiable conclusions as to special qualifications and as to the probable choice of future vocation—although just in this field radical changes often show themselves during puberty. Musical endowment, for example, manifests itself in the early, attentive catching of tones and of rhythm, in a strong emotional reaction to music, in a preference for musical toys. On the other hand, my nephew, who, even now in his seventh year, cares nothing for hearing his mother play the piano,

showed the same tendency in his second year, and showed it by refusing warbling-bird toys; and a chime of small bells interested him only when another person had appropriated it—envy serving as the only motive for his occasional pleasure in sound. The boy's mother, however, took intense delight in music. With both—mother and son alike—the influence of a close personal relationship to the mother has played an important rôle in determining this liking and disliking of music. When the boy, who is extremely lively, is obliged to occupy himself alone and to preserve silence, while his mother is playing the pianoforte, he feels curtailed of maternal affection. Once, in his sixth year, he suddenly began to weep softly to himself, and being asked the reason, he explained, between sobs: "I cannot bear it when mother plays the piano. The stupid piano-playing!" The child's mother herself, on the contrary, thought of her own mother's piano-playing as a manifestation of affection toward her, and often begged for it at the twilight hour. The paths which even the child's intelligence follows in its development are traced for it by its native endowment and also by influences related to the emotional life (Gemütsleben), as anyone can see who observes schoolchildren. A clever mother knows how to take advantage of these strong emotional tendencies in the mental life (Geistesleben) of the child by appealing to his affection for her, as a means of keeping him straight when admonition proves of no avail. Rarely does the mother's call, "Do it for love of me," fail to win response. The development of the intellectual powers depends in so great measure upon that of feeling that the latter forms the *sine qua non* for the former, in earliest childhood. I think with pity of all those many children to whom the wonders of the world around them remain closed because of the lack of tender ministration on the part of adults; as in immediate connection with this deprivation such children frequently show a retardation in speech-development, a backwardness independent of organic causes. In short, the more generous the love which is lavished upon a child during his first year, the more satisfactorily does he develop, not only as regards his temperament but also in his intellectual life (Verstandesleben).

It is of special psychological interest to watch the child's conceptions of space and of time in process of formation; both of them become developed in closest conjunction with the emotional life (Gefühlsleben). It is through the discipline of pain that the child learns to distinguish his body from the world outside; and discovers, through all the opportunities offered him, that there are limits which

he cannot pass without the danger of disaster, physical and mental. When a child's parents forbid him to pass certain boundaries, or when he finds himself physically unable to reach this or that distant object, he gains an experience which gives him new ideas of limitation and distance, while the gradual perfection of his visual powers makes him aware of the infinite extension of space. The pleasurable muscular activity which expresses itself through catching and climbing leads the child to distinguish between up and down and between high and low. These conceptions, to which the childish intellect thus gives as real a value as its capacity permits, become fixed through a growing familiarity with numbers, even when these are used with great looseness. "The sky is 100,000 cm.—no, it is 1,000,000 kilograms high; the ocean is 20 m. deep," are statements characteristic of a four-year-old. As soon as the child has formed an idea of space, he begins to measure things with a centimeter-stick, to weigh them on scales, and to find their value in money. In doing that, of course those objects come first in order which stand nearest to the child's interest. "How long is the apple-fritter (Apfelstrudel) when it is unrolled?" "If one could measure Drücki (feces), how long would it be?"—or the same question in the form of repression, "Tell me truly,—how long are the intestines (Darm)?" With boys, as we have already heard, there comes also the question as to the length of the genital member in the case of animals and of men. The habit of measuring things in play is more pronounced upon the whole, with boys than with girls, in early youth; and it is natural and probable that its deepest and most strongly repressed and secret root lies in the interest in their own sex-organs from the size-standpoint, and in the comparison of them with those of other boys. Pleasure in such occupation explains, too, why boys—as a rule—acquire a real familiarity with numbers and figures earlier than do girls, who, in spite of great general intelligence, frequently show a considerable lack of understanding of these matters during the first school period. At the end of his sixth year, Scupin's little son already did sums in addition and in subtraction by himself; and my six-year-old nephew multiplies and divides without effort with numbers up to twenty, although the simplest tasks in arithmetic drew bitter tears from his mother even at the end of her seventh year, while at five and a half years she could read fluently. Boys show a pronounced preference for massive and, in particular, for longish objects. Canes count directly as symbols of manhood, and the same motive is also to be considered as constituting the at-

traction of other objects of relatively elongated form.[1] Thus boys love to build towers and carry them to dizzy heights, to make their tunnels and their railroad trains as long as possible; and, in short, the larger and the longer the self-made plaything is, the prouder is the little boy. The Scupins note in regard to their child in the ninth month of his sixth year, as follows:[2] "The same statement holds true of his use of modeling-wax that we made of drawing—'Everything on which special value is placed, and of which he is right proud, grows to an unusual size under his hands.'" Another connection between sexual feelings and processes and the interests of childhood, analogous to that which has to do with the length and size of objects, is perhaps to be detected in the fondness for throwing and shooting objects—a tendency which according to Darwin is innate in the boy. Darwin's view contains much that is of interest, especially when one conceives of this inborn tendency to throw objects as indicative of an unconscious activity of the sex-instinct (Geschlechtstrieb), in general, and of one of its components, the so-called sadism, in particular. As a matter of fact, the aggressiveness of the boy, his constant readiness to wrestle with someone, to put other people down (subjection)—these things are but preparations for his future conduct (Verhalten) during the marriage-act (Geschlechtsakt). In the same way, the act of casting something at an object, aiming at something, could be considered as a symbol of erection, which may occur even at a youthful age, and is taken cognizance of in dreams, where long, pointed objects stand for the virile member. In harmony with the inborn pleasure in throwing things stands the boy's propensity to fill up every hollow, the wish to put the finger into every opening. When out for walks in the country, the boy "O"—twenty-one months old—passed by no hole in garden fences, no pipe from a spring of water, without introducing his mother's right fore-finger into the same, as she told me, unconscious of the concealed significance of this expression. The same boy when between two and three years of age gave his mother "tongue-kisses" and once, in making love to her, he declared: "Mutti, I would like to stick my Wiwimacher (membrum) into your mouth." So it seems that the impulse to fill up holes is also atavistically inherent in the boy. To this impulse, indeed, is to be ascribed the boyish inclination to make caves and to hide treasures in them.

[1] This statement might seem meaningless to many persons, but not to those who know the history of phallic symbolism, in its ancient and its modern form. (Trans.)

[2] Scupin, l. c., p. 207.

As a rule, this form of play is less frequently indulged in by girls; and when it is taken up, it is probably to be regarded simply as an indication of anal-and-urethral erotism or of early masturbation. Also the child-practice of boring into the nose is both a transference (Verschiebung) of a forbidden form of self-gratification to a "harmless" zone, and with boys is the realization of the wish to penetrate an opening as deeply as possible.

For all children, boys as well as girls, at a certain age, very small objects have a special interest. Tiny dolls, carriages, ornaments, and wearing articles excite the child's fond admiration; and as a rule the smallest animals are to him the object of the most devoted attention and affection. Perhaps this fondness flows from an auto-erotic source; for it is noticeable how the child, in playing with diminutive things, strikes exactly that note of tenderness and of intimacy with which his mother pets and cares for him. On the same principle, if he possesses or sees several objects of the same kind but different in size, he does not hesitate to call them mother and child—or to designate himself as "parent" and the little bird before him as "child." Little Scupin,[3] in his fourth year, showed his preference for the smaller animals just as clearly as did my nephew, who fell into a state of great delight when a lady-bird alighted on his arm. Since children frequently, at this period of life, have not yet learned to feel disgust, their affection for small objects extends to caterpillars, beetles, and worms. As a child of six years, I let toads jump on my hand; and with joyful excitement, I watched their comical hopping about. On the part of all children, the selective preference which falls upon round objects, especially those spherical in form, can be easily explained from the widespread infantile coprophilism; indeed, there are not a few children who by keeping back (restraining) the "stools" provide themselves with a veritable pastime in the final production of such forms as they please (beliebiger Formen). At four years of age, the little boy, "O," boasted that he could "make" whatever he wished.[4]

From gradually grasping the idea of space the infantile intelligence is led on to the consideration of the important question, "Where do things come from and whither do they go?"—which question, in the last analysis, always aims at the origin of human

[3] Scupin, l. c., II, p. 112.

[4] *The idea* that just as food goes into the body "dead" yet becomes there the source of life, so the "dead," clay-like products of digestion are set apart to stand again, eventually, in important relations to life (as is literally true) *has played a very significant part* in ancient mythology and the mythology of childhood. (Trans.)

beings, and also impels to meditation on the end of life, to thoughts on "dying" and on "death," and in connection with that to pondering on religious questions. To the small child the disappearance of things is a mystery which finds a solution if it is a matter within the direct range of the senses, but remains inexplicable as soon as the space in which the events took place extends beyond the boundaries of infantile familiarity. Sully[5] relates of a little child how at sight of the ebbing sea he pondered in vain on the question, "To what place is the sea swimming off?" At four and a half years of age, my nephew queried thus: "If no more men were to die, where would the people live? How many people would have to live in one room? in one apartment? in one house? Do people die so that those that remain may have more room?" And when, at six years of age, he saw the water-gates (Regulierungsbauten) on the Wien, the old thought emerged again within him, "If one could draw off all the rivers and seas, so that they would flow under the ground, then no one else would need to die; then there would be room for everybody." Not to speak here of the fact that at bottom these speculations are displacements of questions which rest on sexual curiosity (Verschiebungsfragen), his strong anal-and-urethral erotism tends constantly to break out in these reflections and causes him to discuss in detail all the eventualities having relation to that interest. It is from motives such as this that the childish attention becomes so fixed upon moving water, and, in general, upon everything that moves. To the child the flowing of water is an eternal mystery, something forever involved in obscurity. To fathom "the whence" and to discover "the whither" remains an endless delight to him—whether the special problem be to find this out about a spring (which, indeed, he does not regard as a real "source," *i. e.,* as not itself caused) or to peer into the depths of a water-conductor. When we consider that myth and dream designate the earth as "mother," then we recognize very soon that in constantly seeking the source of water there lives the unconscious wish of the boy to see how the woman, the mother, performs the necessary duties in attending to her bodily needs; or the subconscious wish of the little girl comes into play to discover how the man, her father, does the same. From that desire comes the demand of boys to be taken by the mother into the toilet-room with her, and also the habit of listening outside the door. As "the whence" and "the whither" of flowing water is a mystery to the child, so too the *quantity* of the water seems to be a strange

[5] Sully, l. c., p. 70.

thing. At five years of age, little Scupin[6] wondered how it happened that after he had just spit, yet as much saliva was there again immediately. Spitting is a game which never loses its fascination for children. To spit much and far, "just as a man does," is the ambition of all lads, and naturally is to be regarded as unconscious substitution for a sexual act.

In the early-appearing delight of the child over things in motion there lies also, undoubtedly, a bit of muscle-erotism as well as of sadism. The former expresses itself in unconscious imitation of the movement seen; the latter (sadism) in the instinctive desire to prevent it—into which will and purpose enter. From sadism comes also the seeming infantile cruelty towards flies on the window-pane, towards beetles, butterflies, etc. The fondness of children for the moon—a fondness quite common— has its origin, in great part, from the pleasure-accented perception of its relatively fast movement.

To fathom the depths of space, especially of enclosed space, to find an answer to the question, "How does this look inside?" (a form of curiosity which, with intelligent children above all others, gives rise to a passion for destroying things) is connected perhaps with memory-traces of the intra-uterine state. The different sex-theories with the aid of which the child is determined to solve the problem of our coming into existence, the mystery of "the becoming" (des Werdens), assist in attributing to the interiors of enclosed spaces as such, a very special significance. Any hidden mechanism of a toy—designed for regulating the motion of a motor, the opening and shutting of a doll's eyes, the crying and talking of the doll—with its apparent power of awakening movement and life, is instinctively looked on as furnishing an analogy to the power which accounts for the origination of the human being within the mother's body. It may perhaps be urged that the infantile curiosity to investigate the interior of things has in it nothing of the sexual, for curiosity may be directed also to entirely unoffending objects. But once in a while the very remarks of the child show most clearly the real mental process. A five-year-old little girl of whom I know, who has been told of the development of the child in the uterus, and also about the young of animals, holds dolly up to her ear in order to hear whether a baby is in its body. And my nephew, at four years of age, had a toy "Dackel" and was determined to find out whether perhaps two young Dackel were not sewed in there. And another four-year-old boy also, who, it is true, knew that the mother animal "carries" its young—but a boy from whom the

[6] Scupin, l. c., II, p. 206.

analogous processes in the human being had been anxiously kept concealed—put a small locomotive inside a large one with the words, "There! the old engine is going to have a child, and so must not go so fast." Thus, as soon as certain observations have been made by the child, in connection with men and animals, the idea of space becomes a most important factor in his speculations. But the thoughts so aroused acquire new meaning through becoming associated with another process—that of digestion. For just because the process of digestion is remote from the child's direct observation, it becomes a source of interest. "Mamma, can one never get a chance to see how food and water roll around in the stomach?" And a five-year-old boy whose uncle had undergone an operation for appendicitis, asked him, after his recovery, "Uncle, did you see the Bäbä (feces) in your stomach?"

From the conception of space the infantile perceptive-faculty proceeds slowly, over the bridge of "number," to the conception of time. For a long while "time" remains obscure to the infantile mind, being something to which he adjusts himself with difficulty. At the beginning of his third year, Scupin's little son[7] used "to-day" for the words "immediately," "at once." At the end of the same year he used "yesterday" for "a short time ago" (just now). Not until his fifth year[8] did he distinguish between morning, noon, and evening with any degree of clearness. But still the evident dependence of the conception of time upon concrete impressions—such as the daily meals—is noticeable. In the alternation—emotionally toned—of sleep and the waking-life, in the regular return of the hours for meals, we must recognize important factors for the formation of the idea of time. With little Scupin,[9] too, the spatial conception of time is found. In his sixth year, he asks, "Is an hour so long?"—holding his hands apart perhaps half a meter. Making time concrete occurs, on the one side, from watching the hands of the clock moving on the dial-plate; and on the other side, from the fact of the growth of the child's body with increasing years. Sully mentions a four-year-old little girl who asked, "Where has yesterday gone?" and "Where does to-morrow come from?"; also a five-year-old boy who wanted to know, "Where does past time go to?" and "Why are other days always coming?" My nephew thought he saw in the Ferris-wheel in the Prater an image of time. The child's effort to conform time to something occupying space leads to the

[7] Scupin, l. c., pp. 113 u. 156.
[8] Scupin, l. c., p. 107.
[9] Scupin, l. c., II, p. 157.

most charming personifications. "Does the clock feel how time is pushing her?" "Where is time sitting in the clock?" Little "O," at five years, queried untiringly, "If the clock stands still, does time stand still too?" Ans.: "No, if the clock stands still at twelve, noon, and if no one sets the clock until evening, but the clock-hands still stand at twelve, in the meantime it has grown quite dark." "Yes, for other people; but for that clock it is (surely) only twelve o'clock." "Why cannot time be weighed?" asked the four-year-old son of a grocer; and just before Christmas my nephew bemoaned the fact that he could not "eat time, so that it would become *less* faster." Such expressions as the following show a strong naturalistic conception: "Is the sun time?" and "I have seen time when I have been blinking at the sun. The long rays are time." Not only dream-symbolism but also poetry teaches us to bring the intensive infantile interest in time and in the clock into relation with the problem of life and death; thus W. Stekel quotes[10] a humorous passage from L. Finkh's autobiographical work, "Rapunzel," a passage in which the clock is used as the symbol of life. The apprehension of relatively long periods of time gives special difficulty. The infantile explanation, "a day is when papa comes home at night and plays 'tag' with me" conceals, as the reason for such a division of time, the longing for the father (who is absent all day) and springs from the child's longing for affection, just as does the explanation, "a year is when the Christ-child comes again," or as the custom of counting the days before the Christmas festival—"after so and so many times waking in the morning, Christmas will be here." We see how, in this instance also, the emotional side of the child's life assists in inducing clearness about even the ideas of the most complex sorts. The great lack of certainty in conceiving of the greater divisions of time is shown particularly in the child's views on age. Years which go beyond the period of childhood appear to him excessive; but in spite of that, he does not hesitate to lay such a burden of years to the charge of relatively young people; and this happens usually—that is the important point—when the persons concerned are not especial child-lovers. In like sense is also to be interpreted the persistence with which my nephew has refused to admit that mamma and auntie have grown older in the past four years, although he has celebrated their birthdays with great delight each year and has recognized with pride his own increase in age. For the beloved persons of his environment, time, in his calendar, stands still; yet,

[10] Stekel, Die Uhr als Symbol des Lebens, Zentralblatt f. Psychoanalyse, II, 5.

on the other hand, he likes to compute how old they will be (measuring from four years ago) when he himself gets to be twenty or thirty years old. To make this sort of reckoning is a labor of the intelligence alone; it is a kind of computation into which feeling does not enter. In the other case it was probably his unconscious thoughts that prevented him from letting those persons who stand near him grow any older; since he thinks that people die exactly according to the number of their years. At least, the following expression seems to imply that,—"Good! Auntie H—— is two years younger than mother; then she will die two years later, and then I shall have her two years longer."

To the child "time" appears as the sovereign remedy for bodily defects and diseases. This conception is probably an imitatively acquired one in most cases. In the winter of his fourth year of life, when my nephew, during a railroad journey, sat opposite a man with a large bald spot, suddenly the child said to his mother, "Mutti, the gentleman's hair will grow out again in the summer, won't it?"

The power—always gradually acquired—to understand what is meant by the passing of time, is based on the memory of experiences marked by feeling (an gefühlsbetonte Erlebnisse). And since it corresponds more with the joyous spirit of the child for him to remember what has brought him pleasure, it is natural that especially happy occurrences should become milestones in the reckoning of time, while painful impressions leave their traces, for the most part, only in the unconscious, and form the cast of mind characteristic of later years. One might urge, to be sure, as against this view, that the illnesses of early childhood must form a part of the permanent deposit in the treasury of memory, that frequently time is divided into the period before the illness and the period after it; and that to the child illness does not mean a pleasant experience. But when one takes into consideration that the parents' greatest love and care fall to the lot of the sick child, and that in his suffering he feels himself the very center of interest of the family, then it must be admitted that for the child sickness covers much that is delightful, many agreeable experiences that he remembers throughout life.

Through the power of memory and that of imagination (which has the power of peering into the future) there are developed slowly the conceptions of "past" and "future" with their connecting-link "the present." In the life of every child there arrives the moment when his mind begins to occupy itself with the problem of eternity. Mental labors of this sort are usually reserved for later

childhood, it is true, and yet such metaphysical questions often rise into consciousness, even in the play-period. When my nephew, at five years, once declared that he would keep a particularly precious toy forever, of his own accord he asked the question, "What is 'forever,' really? How long does it last?" And he cut short his philosophical speculations with the explanation: "Yes, yes! I know. 'Forever' doesn't mean forever, truly. When Aunt Minna wants me to stop hammering, she says, 'Stop your everlasting (ewig) hammering!' But when my papa does not come back any more, that is 'forever' (ewig)." Thus the boy's reasoning-power makes a fine distinction between that which only lasts too long and that which lasts without end. The question of a six-year-old little girl bears witness to a like understanding of the matter. She heard her mother complaining that the servant was "an eternal length of time" coming home from her marketing, and asked, "Mother, isn't Anna coming back any more, or do you mean that only in fun?" With increasing intelligence there awakens in the child a comprehension of the unreality (non-substantiality) of time; but it often takes years before this recognition becomes so firmly fixed that it is not disturbed, again and again, by the wish to "see" time.

In close relation with the development of the ideas of space and of time, stands that of growth, which again through its connection with birth and death (dem Werden und Vergehen, origin and disappearance) is usually of the greatest interest to the child. To watch plants germinate, to see their growth, is an ardent wish of many children and naturally springs from that desire to see the human being come into existence and grow. The great fondness for those plants which open their calyxes in the evening is a masking of the infantile longing to watch the mystery of "the becoming." The fulfilment of this desire gives thrills of delight, all of which is reflected in the child's bodily functions; his way of moving from one foot to the other, his flushed cheeks, his excited whispering as if a loud word might cause Nature's beautiful game to cease, show clearly that the child takes a subconscious pleasure in such processes as symbolizing the creative act of birth. And so, too, does the mysterious existence and spontaneous unfolding of a maturing butterfly-pupa seem to him as a manifest birth act, and as such a legitimate object of his eager interest. The miracle of growth is one that forever maintains its charm for the childish mind; indeed, imagination makes growth take place in lifeless things; imagination magnifies growth where it is scarcely perceptible; and the child's impatience turns up the soil after cotyledons even before they have had time to

develop from the seed. This strong joy of the senses, this pleasure in the growth of plants, is expressed in the child's demand to have a garden of his own, a flower-bed, or even a single flower-pot to which a seed can be entrusted. I remember, from the early days of my childhood, how the discovery took my breath away that my seedlings had loosened the little clods of earth and at last had sent up delicate shoots toward the daylight; and even into adult years I remained captured by the fancy of seeing plants as human beings. To such children the idea that the body of the woman opens itself gradually, from the navel as a center, like the earth clods, in order that the baby may see the light of day, offers a plausible explanation of the birth-process.

Just as the beginning and the origin of all life is an inexhaustible source of pleasure to the child's mind, as well as to his imagination, he occupies himself no less with life's end, or exit—with dying and death. To him "dying" means nothing else than a temporary standstill of the life-functions, in particular of movement; indeed, he transfers "dying" to objects in themselves lifeless, but which he is not accustomed to see at rest. "The brook is dead" declared my nephew, when he saw, for the first time, a sheet of ice on the water. This conception, so childlike, receives strong support from the various games, played by adults with children, which involve the idea of the former being "shot dead." In regard to this point Scupin's diary contains the following fine description taken from E. Wolfgang's thirty-third month: "With the words, 'Mamma is dead' his mother threw herself on the floor. This filled the boy with pleasure, and he crept up to her to inspect her; but when she did not move he grew uncomfortable and began to pull her and to call to her imploringly, 'Do get up, Mamma! I'll help you to get up; I'll help you. You are not dead. Why don't you get up?'" My nephew, too, who, between his third year and his fifth, loved to "shoot dead" the people near him, could not endure their lying motionless for more than a brief time, and greeted the least blinking of the eyelids with the joyful cry, "You are not dead. You winked." This expression of joy when the "make believe" dead person awakes is the reverse-side of the impulses of hostility from which no child is free and which are to be regarded as the very root of the infantile thoughts about death and dying. The manifold little renunciations that are required of him, the rejections of some of his untimely demonstrations of affection, the apparent or real preference shown for one of the other children of the family—all these provocations are sufficient to mingle feelings of momentary hatred

with his love for father and mother, brothers and sisters, and for other members of the household. These hostile feelings make the removal of the disturber of his peace an event very, very much to be desired. And so there arises a second conception of death. This conception springs from the child's wish not to be hampered in carrying out all kinds of forbidden performances, and, as a means to that end, to wish out of the way (absent) the persons who might hamper him; and the same wish extends often to those whom he looks on as standing in his light or infringing his rights in respect to the affection of beloved people. In a short article in which I tried to throw light upon the attitude of the child with regard to the fact of death—"The Child and his Idea of Death" (Imago, I, Heft 3)—I cited a number of observations which brilliantly confirm Freud's opinion that to the child "being dead" means no more than a removal in the above sense.[11]

Mixed in with the infantile ideas in regard to death, one finds the germs (Keime) of compassion and of cruelty. Perhaps the latter springs in part also from a strong muscle-erotism. It is not alone active deeds of cruelty that speak in favor of this view, but also the behavior of many children upon *beholding* scenes of cruelty in which they take no active part. It is surely something more than simple imitation that induces a child, when he sees a worm writhing under the foot of another person, to cry out, "Let me do it! Let me do it!" and then himself to stamp upon the worm with obvious pleasure. It is something more than imitation that makes the child who has been spectator of a fight that has gone beyond the bounds of play, unconsciously to ball his own fists and strike the nearest object or perhaps his own body, especially when someone whom he does not like is taking part in the fray. And what else can it be but muscle-erotism that inspires the shouts of encouragement on the part of boys who witness a fray in which they have no personal concern? The mingling of cruelty and compassion in the child's soul was expressed clearly in the remark of little Scupin about a muck-beetle which he had trodden half to death, that he had "made it a little dead." The child feels himself, at one and the same time, lord over life and death. In his hand it lies to do away with the state of death-stillness, to waken some apparently lifeless creature out of its sleep; and he feels truly distressed and saddened when he does not succeed in this. It is difficult for us to judge when

[11] That is, removal from the position of even seeming to sit in judgment on thoughts and acts that the child himself feels to be open to adverse criticism, yet longs to carry on. (Trans.)

the right understanding of the tragedy of death awakens in the child; but it would certainly mean an undervaluing of the tendency on the part of the child to turn from one interest to another, if we assumed that the sadness, the strange stillness which funerals cause in a family affect him permanently. Just in consequence of this relative instabiltiy of mind, the young child will momentarily succumb to the effect of the mournful rites; but the way in which these—for him—novel experiences are made use of in play gives proof that the real, profound solemnity of death is still incomprehensible to the child. Thus the tears shed over a dead pet from the animal world dry up as soon as the preparations for the burial are made. From two peasant boys their mother finally had to take away a dead squirrel because they had buried it five times in one forenoon. In his story entitled "Von Kindern und Katzen, und wie sie den Nine begruben," Th. Storm describes similar scenes from child-life. And Otto Ernst does the same in his delicate, humorous notes from "Appelschnuts Leben." The natural light-heartedness of the child can indeed be smothered by an unexpected, sad impression; but soon—fed by his inexhaustible, sunny reservoir of cheerfulness—the glad rays break forth again from the child's eyes to brighten everything gloomy and terrible. Certainly death is a mystery to the child, but his "unconscious" knows how to keep at a distance from itself the true melancholy solution of the problem. The little child whose mother has died asks after her ten times a day and wishes to carry his cares to her as formerly; sorely disappointed, he turns back to his play to forget in the very next moment how forsaken he is.

For the little philosopher it is only a step from thoughts about death to the metaphysical questions, "What happens after death?" "Where do people go?" "Is there a heaven for animals?" "Do people become angels, and then do these come down to earth again as little babies?" A four-year-old little girl was of the opinion that this is so. "For," she maintained, "there cannot be room in heaven for so many angels." The old and commonplace witticism that asks how the fallen warriors will recognize their own shot-off limbs at the resurrection-day, occupies the child's mind in all seriousness; and not seldom the first doubts concerning the words of the Holy Scriptures originate from this dilemma. In addition, there comes the gradual perception of what is untrue in the many deceptive bits of information and in the evasive statements of persons high in authority. The declaration of a little boy whose mother summoned him to evening-prayer ran as follows, "Ah, mamma! The stork story is not true, the Christ-child story is not true either, so

the story about 'the dear God' must be nothing, too.'[12] This is a fine illustration of how the child's faith gets shaky if a single pillar of the structure breaks down. The act of meditating upon the absolute beginning of all things culminates in the question, "Who made the dear God?" Sully writes;[13] "To the child's metaphysical impulse to follow the chain of events backward into the infinite, the ever-present God stands very much in the way. The child wishes to get behind this 'was always' of the existence of God, just exactly as, in an earlier stage of development, he wanted to get behind the boundaries of the blue mountains. This idea is made clear through the inferential reasoning of a child observed by Egger. After the child had heard from his mother that before the world was, only God the Creator was there, came the question, 'And before God?' The answer, 'Nothing,' the child explained at once by saying: 'No, the place where God is (namely, the vacant space, the void) must have been there.'" From the natural progress of the child's intellectual development there results the desire to make abstract ideas concrete; for that reason, in all places and times, the question of the little realist is repeated, "Why can one not see the dear God?" To see God in all His glory—this is the constant longing of the child-mind (Kinderseele) with its idealistic endowment and trend. It was out of such agitating desires as these, felt in his own childhood, that Hebbel's genius created the poem, "Bubensonntag."[14]

The myths of primitive peoples show that praying to God signifies, at bottom, the recognition of fatherly authority; and, as a matter of fact, the imagination of children lends to the mental image of God the features of the child's own father. The words "incomprehensible peculiarity" explain but poorly how it happens that an extremely wide-awake five-year-old boy—who at three years of age had lost his father—should play with wildest joy during the day, but at night offer endless prayers to God "with Whom his dear papa lives, and Who knows everything." Here the boy's own father occupies the place next to the Heavenly Father; and it is not to be wondered at that this boy, as an officer's son, should ascribe to God the highest military honors.[15] Religious doubts grow deeper

[12] "Was Kinder sagen und fragen," von einer Grossmamma gesammelt—Verlag Piper, München.

[13] Sully, l. c., p. 110.

[14] Hebbel, Sämtliche Werke, Bd. 5.

[15] Otto Ernst, Asmus Sempers Jugendland, I Kap.: "For his father was exactly like the dear God, whom he had seen in a picture—the same broad forehead with a magnificent thick growth of gray hair about it, the same strong nose, the same full beard which let the entire mouth be seen, that mouth from which had come almost everything good and beautiful which Asmus had experienced as yet."

when the child becomes aware of differences of opinion at home. Indeed, he is keen to detect the existence of such differences—when they exist—without their being expressed in words. In the presence of this conflict of minds his decision naturally falls in favor of the more strongly loved parent. And because the boy cleaves to his mother, as a rule, the girl to her father, and the former (parent) frequently inclines more fervently to the dogmas and customs of the Church than the latter does, therefore one finds not seldom that boys enter a religious path in early youth and that their minds take a direction obviously inconsistent with their unruly nature. This religious turn of mind puts its special impress upon games; and at this period boys like "playing church" and "saying mass"—in doing which, following the impulse of the man to rule the woman, such boys demand evidences of deep "devotion" from the female attendants at church services. The play of little girls, on the other hand, is more apt to represent festive processions where there are bright flowing garments and wreaths of beautiful flowers; and funeral rites also excite the fancy.

Just as the person of God becomes an object of speculation, and very soon the center of doubt, so—before long—His attributes also are questioned about by the intelligent child. In the transference from the father "who knows everything and can do everything" it seems natural to the child, as a general thing, to take for granted equal excellencies in the case of God. It points to an early disappointment in the expectations set upon the father when a little boy who, at three or three and a half years of age, is to be brought to the important immediate duty of saying his prayers,[16] resists these efforts with the frank declaration, "But I do not want to know about the dear God." I do not believe that Goltz's view of this (incident) gives an adequate motivation for it. He says: "The poor little learner might not have been made better by all those arguments, by all that dialectical confusion; and since he had sufficient intuition to perceive how unprofitable (mentally) the high tower of logic was from the very foundation," therefore he refused to meet the religious requirement so contrary to his desires, and he did so in true child fashion. The child has such a deep interest in everything supernatural and mystic that only very strong impressions, of an intimate nature, are able to evoke such a violent refusal as the above. The human being believes in "the wonderful," "the mystical" as long as he wishes to believe in it. This is true in childhood as well as in adulthood. The belief in the existence of

[16] Goltz, l. c., p. 266.

God meets with far less resistance than does that of His omnipresence. That is the attribute which is the most disconcerting thing to the child-mind about the idea of God. The question of a six-year-old little girl, "When is the dear God going to die?" contains perhaps in a nut-shell the wish to escape His omnipresent, all-seeing eye. This thought, to which the child gave herself in almost morbid brooding, matured within her the belief that whenever there was absolute quiet in Nature, especially when oppressive stillness reigned before a thunder-storm, then this disconcerting experience of feeling oneself under the watchful eye of God took place—then God was regarding her. Perhaps this association of ideas is the origin of the excessive fear which the child showed, in later years, during very severe thunder-storms. It is significant that the fear appeared most strongly whenever her father was absent from home. The fear was fed by the thought that he might be struck by lightning. Her first severe anxiety-attack occurred at the beginning of the child's seventh year on a day when she was afraid of being punished and when her father took home in a carriage a child who had been making her a visit; and he made the ride while a heavy thunder-shower was going on. We know from psychoanalytic investigation that excessive fear springs from the repression of a forbidden wish—that is to say, in this particular instance, from the wish that an accident might happen to the father so that the child would go unpunished. To this I must add the fact that a constant watch was kept over the children of this family and was felt by them as almost unbearable. Indeed, that very same little girl tried to withdraw from this constant oversight by retiring to the most remote corners of the house and garden; therefore her objection to Divine omnipresence seems entirely natural. If, as a rule, doubt in the goodness and righteousness of God is reserved for the mind (Verstand) of the larger (older) child to struggle with, yet the little one too—thanks to the strength of his healthy egoism—does not fail to recognize how often the taking of vengeance, which seems to him the only right course of action, is not included in the measures (of discipline) approved and exercised by God. To the pious child, it seems incomprehensible how God's justice can permit so much evil to happen on the earth and go unpunished. "Why did the dear God let the houses of those poor people burn down?" asks a five-year-old little girl when she is taken by her father to the place where a village is in ashes. When she sees the many distressed people, she inquires,—"Will He not at least send them something to eat and to wear?" And the reply of an old peasant,—"My dear child, the dear God is (exists) for the rich;

He does not trouble himself about us"—that reply robs the little girl of a part of her blessed child-faith.

Earlier yet in his life, before the child doubts the existence of God, belief in angels and their office as guardians begins to totter. "Where was my guardian-angel then?" said a six-year-old little boy falteringly when he was borne home from the skating-rink with a broken leg. And the truly infantile idea of the "home authority" of the dear Lord God over His family in heaven was shown in the question, "Will the dear God punish my guardian angel because he did not watch better over me?" During the long period of lying still for weeks, this idea soon experienced a change. One evening the boy announced: "Mamma, I'm not going to pray any more. I don't believe there are any guardian-angels." And then he added immediately: "Or is it true, after all?" The child does not wish to say good-bye to his beautiful phantasies. Only reluctantly will he part with the tranquillizing thought that his life is protected and watched over by an angel from heaven; for in giving up that idea he gives up the thought of protecting care and his own feeling of safety; and to the "emotional soul" of the child, protection signifies love. So in forsaking his dear belief in the existence of angels or of God, a profound disappointment underlies it all. Perhaps that is the first disappointment in the child's life. All the little bitternesses which training and (social) custom spare no child are brought together at the same time and also find expression in that disappointment. They form a little pile of distresses, so to speak. Ill-pleased, his soul turns away from the invisible Supreme Being, which a child can dispense with in early childhood days much easier than he can with the earthly "ministering angels" in his home.

VI. Speech (Die Sprache)

It is no exaggeration to say that the child's life is made up of love and play. Only what brings him love, only what can be made use of in play, has significance and value for him. His speech, too, is developed from this double need of his nature. Even the first faltering sounds, as we have seen, are the expression of auto-erotism, as one of its infinite variations; and the speech of the maturing child, full of intelligence as it is, continues to bear witness to the presence of these components. In the angry shrieking of abusive words offended self-love rages like a fiery steed; while on the other hand, in the form of (bestowing) flattering caresses, the soul of the child shows its longing for tenderness. The constant asking of ques-

tions by children—in addition to the intellectual gain thus secured—aims at attracting the undivided attention of the people about them. Sully is mistaken in thinking that a morbid inquisitiveness accounts for this questioning habit;[1] a far more important cause is the wish for the exclusive devotion of a loved person. And the monologues of a child who is left to himself are dictated by love and by its psychological counterpart hate, that is, one might say, by the positive and by the negative influence of the mainspring (Triebfeder) of all human activity. To listen to conversations of that kind, which children carry on with themselves, is to arrive at a deep insight into the growth, into the evolution, of the childish mind (Seele). In such conversations the child's feeling accurately reveals (displays) itself because it clothes itself in the words which seem to him to be the most suitable, and the instinctive selection is made without regard to the censorship of adults. It is natural disposition and sex that are mainly concerned in giving to the speech of children its peculiar stamp, though the environment in which the child grows up also plays its part. This latter influence, however, is less important than is usually supposed. If this were not so, it would be impossible to explain how it happens that vulgar expressions are able to gain a secure footing in the vocabulary of even the most carefully guarded children. Such children are often the very ones to treasure each obscene word as a valuable acquisition, and to bring them out even when but half understood. Naturally, the words which give the greatest pleasure to the child in using them, are obscene designations for bodily needs (functionings) and for special parts of the body. Some time ago, when my nephew was five-and-a-half years old, in describing one of his dreams I reported[2] how, on the day before the dream, he ran around the room as if possessed and cried out,—"Auntie H—, I am going to sit down here and make you a 'Patzen' (soft lump)"—an expression which his mother had repeatedly forbidden him to use. And not long after that, when he had a bad stomach ache and relieved himself by vomiting, he could not tell of it often enough, laughing roguishly all the while. "Listen! I've been vomiting (ich hab' g'spieb'n). Do you have to 'speiben' sometimes, too" And when at last I answered a trifle angrily,—"Yes, if you must be so vulgar!"—he told the story over in the afternoon, when in an electric car, proclaming in a loud voice,—"Auntie H—

[1] As the cause of this questioning habit psycho-analysis has discovered the "Sphinxquestion,"—"Where do little children come from?"

[2] Hellmuth, Traum eines fünfeinhalbjährigen Knaben, Zentralbl. für Psychoanalyse, III, 3.

has to vomit if I am vulgar." I remember from my own childhood, that I liked to use vulgar expressions, especially within hearing of my mother. This habit, often appearing in children, is to be regarded as a rule as a piece of mischievousness. But mischievousness of this sort is not without an admixture of malice; and on this account, perhaps, it should be classified as speech-sadism, in an undeveloped form (Wortsadismus). This passion for using obscene words often leads to the putting together of syllables, meaningless in themselves, which eventually take the form of some expression which the child has in mind. Not long ago, I heard a little girl about three years of age, singing twenty times or more, "Lo—lo—lo—polo —popo!"; and the following chain of syllables, "Wissi—wissi—wisschi—wi!", as used by a four-year-old boy, was not without indication of the same tendency. It is certain that the erotism of the palate- and lip-zone, which is so strongly marked, plays its part in maintaining the word-repetitions that often go on at such unwearied length. For a while, in his sixth year, my nephew said the self-invented word, "Bu-url-bbauer," again and again, until finally he sprang up, his whole body a-quiver, rubbed his lips and cried,— "Oh! I can't stand it, it tickles so." One can make observations of a similar nature quite generally, where children are concerned, in regard to the gutturals and the labials. To say "b—b—b" until physically exhausted is a form of play met with most frequently among very small children, but it is not confined to them; even grammar-school scholars and girls in their teens sometimes make themselves almost die of laughing through producing the same sound over and over, by playing on the lips with the fingers. These observations also point to word-sadism as well as to auto-sadism. The refrain, "La—la—la!", so often repeated in many songs—indeed, perhaps "the yodel" itself, with its stereotyped "Duliö—Duliö"— may have come originally from the experience of the pleasurable excitation of certain parts of the mouth and of the larynx—sensations which are reinforced by the satisfaction that always attends rhythmical repetitions.[3] This statement is borne out by the experience, to which children frequently bear witness, that the sensations felt by them in the mouth and throat during singing are exceedingly agreeable. A nine-year-old boy described this pleasure to me—then a girl of seven—by comparing it to the pleasurable feelings excited by playing with himself "down there" (beim Spielen da unten).

[3] That a sexual note is attached to this, follows from the fact that certain rhythmical movements lead to the orgasm.

When correctly noted, such expressions made by children will be found to give indisputable proof of the soundness of the psychoanalytic teachings, which although based upon the histories of neurotic patients, provide a very valuable means of approach to the study of the nature and course of development of the mental life of normal people.

Beside the auto-erotic motives for the habit of echolalia, there are others which have reference to the relations (of an unpleasant sort, it must be said) subsisting between children and their neighbors. A convenient means of disturbing and irritating people around him is offered the child in the ceaseless word repetitions; and he employs them to express stubbornness and self-will, precisely as he makes use of so many other acts of obstinacy. In general, playing with speech (das Spielen mit der Sprache) is well adapted to many a transgression of etiquette. The well-bred child knows very well that punishment, more or less severe, is supposed to follow rude language toward parents and toward other members of the family; but how shall he free himself of his feelings of resentment (or of enmity), feelings which have been plentifully stored up even against the persons most loved? The mother-wit of the child knows how to find a way out of the difficulty. He has but to invent, for the person who for the moment is the object of his dislike, a series of innocent seeming names, such as names of different pieces of household furniture, of different animals, etc., in order in the end to arrive at an expression, still permissible but which the initiated can understand in the sense intended. It was not "nonsense," nor sheer mischief, that made little Scupin,[4] in his third year, designate the people round him in the strangest fashions, such as,—"Mamma is poison" (he knows that word from his father's deadly cyanide of potassium glass); "Grandma is stupid;" "Mamma is a Hullegänssen;" "Papa is a stove." It was not without thought that he chose for his mother, at one time the designation "poison," which of course had been explained to him as something dangerous, something dreadful, something that one must not touch—and at another time, the word "Hullegänssen." It was not a flattering term that he selected for his grandma; and only for the person whom he held in peculiar respect, namely his father, did the child halt at the word, "stove." At the end of his third year, he used to call the people of the household "rascals," and ran screaming with delight from one person to another to honor each of them with this form of address.[5] K. Groos

[4] Scupin, l. c., I, p. 125.
[5] Scupin, l. c., I, p. 195.

reports[6] that little Marie G—, in her third year, called out to her father,—"Papa, you are a—stove; you are a—plate." And Groos adds:—"The expression of her face betrayed all too plainly that in her inmost heart she carried the thought of designations which were much less harmless." My nephew, who lived in my house during his fourth year, was warned not to disturb my siesta after dinner. To all appearances he submitted willingly, but one noon he began,—"Auntie H—, you are a lamp, a table, a salver, a wine-glass, a plant in a flower-pot, a chaise longue." Another boy brought out a similar set of names in honor of his father, and closed the list with,—"You are a broken carpet-beater" (with such a carpet-beater the little fellow had received a few blows from his father, a few days before). When there is a wish in the background of a child's mind, however, a wish which he hopes to have fulfilled, then the little rogue takes pains to think out the most attractive comparisons possible. "Auntie H—, you are a new feather hat, a bottle of perfumery,—a promenader; you are a chocolate layer-cake too,—you are an automaton. (This had reference to the chocolate figures (Schokoladenautomaten) from which he was allowed, once in a while, to pull out a sweet morsel.) All these different designations were indirect expressions of his wish to go to walk with me and to be taken to a confectioner's shop. In this way the child-mind understands how to express, as through the "language of flowers," what he is forbidden to say in direct words—or else it is something in regard to which his awakening pride fears to be repulsed. The mistakes and errors in the use of words, the "Wortentstellungen" so common among children, are to be explained not only as the result of ordinary slips and blunders, but also as based on mental causes of more complex sort. Students of child-life (auf pädologischem Gebiete) are apt to classify such mistakes (Entstellungen) as "reproductive" and "apperceptive," but overlook the factor which is perhaps of most significance—namely, the work of the unconscious mental processes which intentionally allows the ideas inspired by it to take a wrong path in order to secure expression for the thoughts and wishes that have been forcibly repressed and pushed aside. Just as the adult seeks to mask the utterances of his "subconscious" by giving the excuse of having made a mistake in speaking, a mistake in writing, etc., so does the child, even at the first stage of speech-development, know how to express forbidden cravings (Gelüste) under the protective cover (Deckmantel) of imperfect ability to speak. And so

[6] K. Groos, Die Spiele der Menschen, p. 289.

too, at a later stage, through the instinctively adopted device of a regression to the baby-speech of early childhood, he sets himself back into a period of life in which much was yet permitted him which is forbidden to the older child. Also through intentional changing of the form of words, in doing which he goes backward in memory to the time when he first learned to speak, he succeeds in giving voice to a momentarily intensified desire for tenderness, such as formerly had found expression in the flattering terms which mother and child exchanged in a language understood only by themselves. No lexicon can contain all the pet names which spring from the child's mind and heart (Gemüte). A four-year-old boy formed from "Bube, Bubi" the pet name "Pupiluh" and applied it to his father. Another boy who heard his mother's "softness" ("Molligkeit") jokingly praised by his father, gave her the name of "Mohli." The vocabularies of children contain countless words of affection which serve as threads—hidden from our ken—by means of which the innermost mental life of the child is linked with the external world. Only once in a while, in a comprehending flash, do we gain some idea of these intimate relationships. My six-year-old nephew, who is very much attached to me, has for a long time omitted to use the relatively formal term, "Auntie" in his talks with me. He changed the name, "Hermione," first into "Hermun" and then into "Herman." When informed that that is a boy's name, he replied,—"That doesn't matter! You are a real man." ("But that will not do. I am a woman.") "Yes, but for me you are a man; you are twice a man, ein Herr-Mann." Here the "unconscious" of the fatherless child expresses the wish that his "Auntie" shall take the place of his absent father. The child goes to "Auntie" for advice on all questions about building houses (with his blocks), about where to locate his mills and his electrical "works." He says,—"Mamma does not understand those things." A six-year-old little girl whose parents lived apart, behaved in a similar manner. She liked to call Frieda, the nurse-maid, "Fritz." Naturally, the native bisexuality of the child always comes to expression in such an arbitrary change of sexes. Even though the strongest feelings of affection go out to persons of the opposite sex, yet no person's life is devoid of warm sentiments toward people of his own sex. The fact that this habit of bestowing names of men upon feminine persons is far more common among boys than among girls, and that furthermore, no instance (Fall) is known to me where a child has given a feminine Christian name to a man or to a boy, has convinced me that this boy-custom is based upon a subconscious wish to distinguish

the beloved persons whose names he thus alters, by enrolling them as members of his own privileged sex. This opinion also finds support in the fact that the attitude assumed by the boy while playing with several companions of the opposite sex, is different from that assumed by a girl under like conditions. The latter feels herself honored and flattered to be taken into the ranks of the boys. The former, overcome with shame, is apt to run away from even the most delightful game which he had been playing with little girls, as soon as he sees himself observed by adults, or, indeed, by other boys.

If the ability to speak, in the case of any given child, has so far developed that words are caught and retained with relatively little trouble, the child frequently shows, by some droll manner, that he looks down upon his own first attempts at speech, and he often refuses to sing any longer the songs which imitate the child's way of speaking (die Kindersprache). Preyer's little son,[7] when less than three years old, "called to mind as a subject of merriment, the time when he could neither speak nor articulate with exactness." My nephew for whom R. and M. Dehmel's Rhymes, composed in child jargon, were a source of much enjoyment when he was in his fourth year, by the time he had reached his sixth year, would not hear anything about the "stupid stuff," in which—he said—"even the children could not speak properly." On the other hand, just at this stage of life, it gives the child much pleasure to distort and change about words and sentences, to suit his own ideas. As a part of this tendency, besides the obviously senseless alteration of sounds at the beginning and in the middle of words, I include the intentional twisting of words in a sentence. Ever since the beginning of his sixth year my nephew has been a master of that art. To read from left to right, and to read backward every sign and placard and everything in large print, offers him constant amusement; and his delight is particularly great when he comes upon words which, when turned about either make a new and real word, or else retain their former meaning and form (English examples,—"evil," "deed"). One of his first attempts in this line had to do with the word, "Popo," the letters of which he amused himself by changing about, until at last laughing heartily he announced,—"If I take away the 'o' from the end and place it at the beginning and then read the word backward, I have 'Popo' again," evidently noticing as he did so, a correspondence between the doubling of the syllables and the form of the part of the body which the word defines. If upon reading a word backward, another familiar word having a real meaning comes to

[7] Preyer, l. c., p. 233.

light, then his final purpose seems to have been fulfilled. In many cases psycho-analysis has succeeded in bringing proof that the so-called mistakes in reading and writing are to be traced back to repressed motives which frequently bear a sexual meaning. And the surmise is thus forced upon us that in the word-alterations made by children below the school-age we have to do with such "mistakes." A five-year-old little girl who had been instructed by her mother in reading, and was laboriously spelling out the word, "schiessen," suddenly broke into loud laughter, much to her mother's astonishment. Evidently the child's interest in learning and her interest in sexual matters had met each other half-way, with the result that by transposition of the vowels, she could persuade herself that she had found in the book a vulgar expression which she did not dare to let her mouth speak. Sully says,[8]—"In the children's 'word-play' (Wortspiel), as we call it, namely in their discovery of strange similarities in the sounds of words, also in the puns which children make, there is often concealed the wish to get behind the meaning of the words. Although this tendency implies, without doubt, a genuine element of infantile humor, yet it also indicates a more serious bent, *i. e.*, an interest in the word-sounds as such." A child may know that in such cases he is making nonsense, nevertheless, just playing with the words brings a certain satisfaction, and of a sort that even the adult linguist can appreciate. In my opinion the word-plays of the three-and-a-half-year-old little girl to whom Sully refers have a deeper significance than that which the author ascribes to them. For example, "Zuckerrosin" for "Superoxyd," "Automate" for "Tomate," "Grobiate" for "Krawatte," and "verbrecherischer Kopf" for "zerbrechlicher Kopf" (the breakable head of the doll) are all substitutions which imply very special thought-associations on the child's part. This habit of playing with words is found particularly among those intelligent children upon whom early education has imposed restrictions for which "the little people" do not understand the reason. In the school this habit acquires a new impetus and finds an especially good chance to grow when foreign languages are being studied. For in them there is no lack of words which, when pronounced as in German, voice forbidden expressions.

Finally, I should like to mention the charming word-formations (Wortbildungen) and combinations in which the poetical feeling and the inventive genius of childhood find expression. It goes without

[8] Sully, l. c., p. 159.

saying that it is the emotional life of the child that is the controlling factor in this outcome. A little girl four years and nine months old called her mother, "Frühlingssüss" (sweet as Spring).[9] And Ament reports in regard to a little boy, "R," three years and nine months old, that when he climbed on his father's lap to caress him, the child said he "had loved himself up (hinaufgeliebt)" on to his father. Naturally, interest in matters sexual (das sexuelle Interesse) is a rich source of new acquisitions on these lines. A four-year-old boy calls his four-months-old little sister, "Lutschkind," and his mother who is nursing her, "Lutschmami" (lutschen = to suck). The same boy calls his little cousin's milk-bottle, "a little mamma-bottle" (Mamiflaschl). He calls the garden-hose, "a Wiwimacher for the flowers." It is true that in the infantile stock of words quoted by Preyer and other authors, not a single expression is to be found belonging to the sex category (Gebiet). By means of the filter of science they have been purified from the sediment of childish originality, in so far as this has occupied itself with objectionable fields of thought. And even E. and G. Scupin are content with offering the following—"Bauchknöppel" = navel, as invented by the child in his third year; "Hinterbäuchel" = buttocks, "Backe" = Wange (cheek) but also breast, "Klastiedel" = Klystier = enema, between his fourth and sixth year; unfortunately there are no remarks here, either, about any thoughts to which he gave utterance in regard to these concepts (über diese Begriffe). At three and a half years of age, my nephew invented the expression, "Popowadeln" for Gesäss (buttocks), and "anmuttern" for nestling very close to mother—from which expression he soon coined "antanten" and "anherminen" for "cuddling up to auntie." In his sixth year it was a custom between him and myself that, at twilight, upon hearing a signal agreed upon between us, he was to consider that he had permission to come into my room to romp. As soon as he heard the invitation, he used to stop his play and rush to me. Once, after having had a paritcularly merry time together in the forenoon, he came hastening to me at the given signal, calling out as he did so,—"I fly to Aunt Hermine's embrace!" (lit. = to Hermine's body). At about that time he invented a game where he clung to me with his arms and legs, and I had to shake him off. His too intense interest in this sport soon led me, however, to discontinue it. When I had been disturbed by him several times while I was at work, and I wanted to buy myself free from him by means

[9] C. u. W. Stern, Kindersprache, p. 353.

of a few bonbons, he announced to his mother,—"Auntie H— sugared me away." No nursery is without such manufactured words, spontaneously invented by the child. They owe their existence to his sexual-erotic feelings, and it would be a worthy task to keep (a list) of such expressions, and to trace out their mode of origin in the emotional life of the child.

While the adult very often uses language as a means of concealing his feelings, it serves in childhood as a faithful exponent of them. Even to the small child speech is a means which he can use to pay back in like coin the energetic attempts of people about him to guide his linguistic efforts. With amazing keenness and "Konsequenz" he observes the inaccuracies and peculiarities in the speech-habits of adults, and takes advantage of every opportunity to offer corrections. Thus, a five-year-old boy who had often been criticized on account of his saying "nit" for "not" ("net" für "nicht") repeatedly protested, in the case of his grandmother, against her giving "zuerscht" for "zuerst." With a somewhat spiteful pleasure he used to listen with care for this her habitual mistake, and even the most intense absorption in play could not keep him from noting the faulty pronunciation. I recall a lady's telling me how carefully she used to watch the chance to note occasional slips of speech on her parents' part, and that she was the more inclined to do this, because criticisms of like nature had been made so often by her father in regard to herself; and she described how it was only the extreme severity of her parents that kept her from openly correcting their mistakes. But to hold oneself thus in check induces, in connection with other factors, a habit of nagging (fault-finding) which, in later years, comes into use, not for the correction of speech-habits alone, but with reference to other matters also. Again, with witty people (bei witziger Veranlagung) this repression develops an irresistible impulse to imitate the speech—or any peculiarity—of other people, and make them seem ridiculous.

In the mental life of children a peculiar significance attaches to the relations (Beziehungen) between grammatical gender (the genders of words) and natural gender, that is, sex distinction; this, to be sure, does not come into special prominence until school-days arrive, but plays a certain part even before the "school-age." As a charming illustration and proof of this interest, Sully offers[10] the fanciful speculations of a boy of five years and three months, "who had learned German and Italian, as well as English, and had indulged in many thoughts about the gender (sex) of the sun, of the

[10] Sully, l. c., p. 160.

moon, etc. He next began to evolve myths in the following manner: 'I think the people (the Italians) believe that the sun (il sol) is the man, and the moon (la luna) is the woman (wife), and all the stars are little children.'" In my opinion relative size (Grössenverhältniss), illuminating power (Leuchtkraft), and splendor (Glanz, luminosity) may have some influence in the assignment of these rôles.

The psychological observations made with reference to the speech-habits of children who have employed two languages from earliest childhood, are of special interest. Such children tend to create a mongrel language which they use when they consider the expressions of the other two as unsuitable for social use. Thus, a four-year-old little girl, when in the presence of strangers, used to her nurse-maid the sound-imitation (onomatopoetic) word "suivi," in order to indicate the imperative nature of her needs. Another little girl employed the terms "much" and "little" for summoning her nurse to assist her in these necessary acts (Verrichtungen). The popular periphrases, "number one" and "number two," for what are known (among children) as "little" and "big" "jobs" (Geschäfte), also deserve mention here. In such a use of words it is not only possible to recognize without difficulty the root of the secret languages of later youth, but also the root of the habit which adults have of choosing a foreign term for alluding to objectionable subjects—to sexual matters, for example. Indeed, in scientific parlance it is the custom to refer to sexual processes (Vorgänge) by Latin expressions, although there is no lack of suitable designations for them in our own tongue.

VII. The Emotional Life (Das Gemütsleben)

The intellectual development of the child stands in such intimate relation to his emotional life (Gemütsleben) that no student of childhood, whatever his method of approach, could fail to recognize the importance of dealing with the two in close conjunction. Nature has indeed bestowed her most precious gift upon little children in giving them, even in earliest infancy, the power to intensify the value of every experience by clothing it with feeling and emotion. The same influences which excite in the nursling the most primitive sentiments—those of surprise and fear—cause in the older child the whole scale of emotions, pleasant and unpleasant, in the strength which is so characteristic of all the reactions of early youth. The child endows the people and things around him—indeed, all Nature

—with feelings in which his own personality is reflected. Many of these projected feelings are of a sort that might provoke criticism if entertained by the adult, but they do not disturb us in the young child because with him they are instinctive and virtually unconscious. The child loves whatever promises him pleasure, hates what withholds it from him, and all that is negative in these respects he lets pass unnoticed. This egocentric attitude toward the world—taken together with the great impressionability of the emotions—provides conditions favorable to the occurrence of strong reactions on the child's part, to all the experiences of life. And it is in the mental atmosphere created by this attitude (Weltauffassung) that the development must go on, of the child's natural instincts (Triebleben), and of his will. The insatiable craving for affection proceeds also from the same instinctive attitude—a craving which, in its turn, becomes the starting point of a long line of childhood-failings and weaknesses, perhaps, indeed, of all of them. The egocentric attitude prompts the child to claim a peculiar place in the heart of the person loved, and to fight for the position, once it is secured, with all the weapons which not only love but also hate, place at his disposal. This demand for manifestations of affection is felt by different children in different degrees. The "only" child, for example, reacts quite differently from the child who has younger brothers and sisters, and the younger children of a family in different fashion from the older. It is natural for the "only" child to consider the overmeasure of love and care, lavished upon him from the very first day, as only lawful tribute. It is natural for him, indeed, to set himself up as tyrant over the whole house, and to look for responses to his desire for marks of love, even where, in the natural order of things, he would find little encouragement—for instance, among servants and strangers. Failure on their part to respond adequately to his expectations causes him severe disappointment, which is easily overcome, to be sure, thanks to the mobility of the very young child's mind. A compensation for such disappointments is supplied, first, by an intensification of the child's attachment to his father and mother, then through a gradually increasing comprehension of the fact, which even the most "spoiled" child may learn, that moderation in demonstrations of affection is better than excess. Far more deplorable than that of the "spoiled" child, is the fate of the child who in his early years has had too little reason to feel himself the object of love. For this sort of deprivation in childhood no man's love and no wife's affection can adequately compensate. Such children often remain love-poor all their lives; they know not what love

means. They seek in vain, through later years, for the companion who shall make up to them for the parent-love which they have never known. The woman who was never taught by her mother how to love, cannot learn this high art in later years. The poets, whose privilege it is to appreciate better than other men the mysterious stirrings of the repressed emotions, have understood also the lamentable fate of the child left without a mother and have clothed the sufferings of the tender young soul in the garment of song—in such songs, for instance, as those which Albert Traeger has given us, and of which his "Das Kind hat keine Mutter mehr" is a good example.

The myths of all races make it clear that the love of the son for the mother tends indeed to become so powerful, without his conscious realization of the intenseness of his emotion, that nothing can restrain him from striving to possess her for himself. And, by the same token, he tends also, unconsciously to look upon his father as a dangerous rival only through whose death [*i. e.*, permanent absence] he can gain that unrestrained access to the attentions of his mother, his first love, which he had so much desired. This glowing thread of emotional desire to possess the mother, and of concealed hostility toward the father as a rival, runs through the fairy-tales of all tongues; and young people listen breathlessly to these stories just because these impulsive cravings and emotions still exist in them (although made unrecognizable through repression due to the influence of custom and the conventions of society), and link the children, as listeners, to their own parents by strong, undefined ties. The boy's most natural thought is to marry his mother in case his father should die, and the little girl enjoys playing the rôle of "mother" when the latter happens to be away from home. In his "Traumdeutung" ("Dream-Interpretation") Freud gives the following story in illustration of this tendency:[1]—"A particularly gifted and vivacious little girl, less than four years old, a child in whom this bit of child-psychology is remarkably transparent, expresses her thoughts boldly in this fashion,—'Now mother can go away, if she likes; then father-dear must marry me, and I shall be his wife.'" It indicates a slight recognition of conventional barriers when a five-year-old boy says,—"My wife must look just like mother." Another boy shows his feeling toward his mother by the following suggestion:—"Mamma, if you had a little girl, too, and she didn't live with us, then I could marry her; but I should want her to look exactly like you." With a child who thus expresses him-

[1] Freud, Traumdeutung, III. Aufl., p. 187.

self, it is evident that the inhibitory feeling associated unconsciously with the idea of incest, as wrong, has already taken root so deeply that he no longer wishes to marry his mother, nor yet his sister with whom he has grown up, but "mother's little girl" who resembles her in every respect. Remarks made by adults, now and then, to the effect that one should not desire one's parents, and brothers, or sisters, in marriage, are taken in by the infantile mind and worked over, though without its being brought to pass, for all that, that the clutch of the deeper-seated emotional longings becomes loosened. Another instance of the recognition of social restrictions is that shown by a four-year-old little girl who chooses for her future husband her uncle on her father's side, "because he looks every inch like papa —and papa already has mamma for his wife."

Another noteworthy situation is the following: Owing to the unquestionable fact that a bi-sexual tendency is characteristic of all human beings during the period of childhood, the child's affection goes out strongly, not only to the parent of the opposite sex but to that of the same sex with itself, and here also there is an undertone of sensuous feeling.[2] The wish of the little boy to become very soon as big, and tall, and strong as his father, although based in part on the unconscious, instinctive desire to gain the father's place with reference to the mother, betrays also an admiration for him, for in the eyes of the boy no man is so powerful as his father.

In analogous fashion, the affection which goes out to the mother from the small daughter often takes on a romantic coloring, to which a liberal dose of envy of other children is sometimes superadded, concerning advantages which their mothers are supposed to enjoy. It is certainly a severe blow to the child's pride to hear an unfavorable criticism of her mother's clothes. But another reaction to an experience of this kind is quite possible, and an entirely different chord may be struck, a chord having a note of tender child-like love. This is illustrated by the case of a little girl who sat musingly for a long time, refusing to eat her supper, and finally said,—"Mamma, how long should we have to economize, for you to be able to buy yourself as nice a dress as B—'s mother has?"

If it happens that a child does not receive, in early years, its due share of its mother's love and care, either because the mother dies, or because she thoughtlessly entrusts her most sacred duty to others, the result is that it turns, with all the impetuousness of its

[2] This tendency is primarily, and in itself, not objectionable but rather fortunate.—(Trans.)

love-needy heart, to the person, whoever it may be, on whom its care devolves—preference falling on a grandmother or an aunt. "The home conditions," writes Goltz,[3] "needed for ensuring the best outcome of a childhood cannot be considered as completely furnished, unless to the other influences there is added that of a grandmother or an aunt." But even for those children in whose early days a kind grandmother or an aunt is at hand to meet and gratify the innumerable wishes of her dear charges, it is still the mother who furnishes the model and pattern with reference to which the later bestowals of affection are determined. Nevertheless, intermingled with her traits and lineaments, place is found, likewise, in this idealized vision, for those of the various people who gave evidence of that love which every child longs for from its mother but sometimes longs in vain.

It is also of supreme importance for the development of the child's emotional life, in what sort of relation he stands to the other members of his family. Freud sketches out, in his "Traumdeutung," in a few convincing words, how little evidence there is of real affection in the conduct (attitude) of brothers and sisters toward each other, during their early years; how much more nearly, on the contrary, it suggests the warfare of unequally matched opponents, marked as it is (in part) by aggressive hostility on the one side and impotent rage on the other.

These feelings of hostility arise considerably earlier than that period of life when the language of the fists becomes so eloquent. They date back, with the older child, to the day when the undesired addition to the family appeared, the day when he saw himself thrust out of his place of primary importance in the household. Sully[4] tells of a little girl who was seized by such a violent aversion to an infant whom she thought extremely ugly that she tried to dash its head to pieces. Since the author brings forward this example of cruelty as an appendage to his observations on the child's behavior upon the arrival of a second infant (refusal to accept it, etc.), we may assume that it was a small brother or sister toward whom this little girl's hatred was directed. But, in that case, it cannot be admitted that the new baby's ugliness was the cause of the hatred; on the contrary, the thought of the baby's looking like such a fright must have sprung *from* the hatred. This sort of aversion is an exceedingly common one; it rests on the natural dislike felt for the

[3] Goltz, l. c., p. 389.
[4] Sully, l. c., p. 203.

infant through whom the older child feels himself defrauded of his rights and privileges as regards the parents' love. That same hostile frame of mind—according to Sully[5]—incited a boy (of whom he speaks) to set fire to the cradle in which his little dead sister lay; and this observation is important because it illustrates the true childhood conception of death, namely, that being "dead" is equivalent to being at a distance, being "away." As long as the boy sees the body of his sister lying in the cradle, she—his rival—does not seem to him to be finally and sufficiently removed; but, from having been forbidden to set things on fire, he knows that what has been burned up, is lost, is gone. In such behavior of children jealousy breaks out undisguised without our being able to declare that a criminal tendency takes any part in it. Tiedemann's little son,[6] at the age of one and a half years, betrayed strong jealousy toward his little sister; "he wanted to strike her whenever she lay in her cradle or on the mother's lap, because he found it exceedingly unpleasant to see himself deprived of a satisfaction which he had so long enjoyed exclusively. On the other hand, he showed sympathy by crying when his sister cried." This seems a mark of real commiseration, but, to my thinking, it does not appear suitable to ascribe such altruistic feelings to a child a year and a half old. I should say, rather, that, beside the factor of imitation (which is of great importance, just at this age), another influence comes into play here; namely, the unconscious over-compensation of the sense of hostility through exaggerated demonstrations of affection. Thus little Günter Stern,[7] who, moved by jealousy, sought to draw his mother's attention to himself while his little sister Eva was being nursed, went soon afterward to the opposite extreme in expressing admiration of his rival. It should not surprise us when children who had made no attempt to disguise their antipathy toward a brother or a sister who had figured as an interloper, show signs of the tenderest love before much time has passed. Hatred and love spring from a common stalk—from self-love. The primary hostile impulse to thrust back anything new and unexpected, when it threatens to oppose the gratification of egoistic feelings, tends to be replaced by the exalted feeling—flattering to self-love—of being absolutely necessary as performing spontaneous acts of love; while, at the same time, the joy at being loved by the tiny, helpless infant awakens in the older child a tenderness, a

[5] Sully, l. c., p. 208.
[6] Tiedemann, l. c., p. 31.
[7] Stern, Kindersprache, p. 108.

solicitude, which has in it something touching. The fact that these busy, affectionate doings arouse emotion in us who watch them can have no other meaning than that instinctively we recognize in them the victory of love over the original hatred.

The presence of hostile feelings in the older child is especially noticeable when the arrival of the new baby, besides causing the withdrawal from him of a portion of the parental attention, leads to the imposition on him of new tasks, of one or another sort, for which his will and training are inadequate. To illustrate:—A four-year-old peasant boy is made to rock his small sister in a baby-carriage, she being but a few months old. He meets this interference with his freedom with very ill grace, and suggests to his mother, "Mother, take Ella and sell her; we have no use for her."[8] But some months later he was of wholly different mind, and said, when his own plan was suggested to him,—"No, not now! Now she can play; now I like her." This repression of the original jealousy between children of different ages is of almost regular occurrence; but it is also true that the hateful feeling—retained in part—is likely to break out with violence on this or that occasion. For many children the very thought of the approaching arrival of a little brother or sister is so exciting that they threaten to throw the child into the water, or else "to put the baby under the bed," the place where the child tucks away unpleasant objects, out of sight. A charming illustration of the way in which a child who feels himself deposed tries to win back the love and attention of people around him, and in particular that of the mother, has been given by Lichtenberger in his "La petite soeur de Trott." The little lad of this story, forced into the background by his small sister, intentionally hurts himself by letting himself fall from a chair; but then, when caressed by his parents, he admits, while weeping,—from pain and for joy,—"I did it on purpose." And when his parents show that they realize how cruelly he suffered during the time when they seemed to neglect him, and now assure him of their love, and ask him whether he is satisfied, he replies—with eyes still red from crying, but with laughter

[8] On the street, not long ago, one of the translators happened to pass close by an American boy about five years of age. He was taking care of a baby asleep in its carriage. The infant did not even move its lips. Suddenly the older child began to imitate the crying of a very young baby. As suddenly the mother came and relieved him of his charge, saying as she did so,—"I never go into the house but the baby cries." Apparently mother had no suspicion of the trick played on her, and the unwilling little "helper" (?) won his freedom easily.

on his lips—"O yes, but I'm not sorry that I hit myself and got the big bump." The little peasant boy, too, of whom I spoke a moment since, used a method which he evidently thought would be a sure one, for regaining his mother's attentions. Although he had been trained to habits of cleanliness, and had maintained them for more than a year, he began, after the birth of his little sister, to set his teaching at naught, in spite of well-justified fear of punishment for so doing. His mother, although a very simple-minded woman, instinctively divined the boy's real motive, though without giving him the credit for its invention. "I don't know what I shall do with him," she complained. "Beating does no good, and I truly believe he means to pay me back, because since the baby takes all my time, I have none left for him." Unfortunately I had no opportunity to observe, later, whether the method of kindly admonition which, by my advice, was substituted for punishment, had any permanent effect, or only a passing influence due to novelty.

It often happens that the younger child becomes the warm and admiring follower of the older one as soon as the latter has overcome or repressed his feelings of hostility. Indeed, the older child's words are often clothed with more authority, for the younger brother or sister, than those of the grown-ups, even of the parents. In his older sister the boy feels that he has "a bit of mother." To the little girl the more mature brother is a second (an extra) father and has the advantage, from the fact of his relative nearness in age and his familiarity with the childish range of ideas, of standing considerably closer to his little sister than her own father does. One might expect that, on this account, the younger of two such children would entertain for the older a feeling of pure love, free from jealousy and hostility. But to arrive at this conclusion would be to overlook the fact that whatever comes to the older child simply on the strength of his earlier start in life, seems to the younger child as one more mark of preference on the parents' part. How many tears it costs the younger children to have to go to bed before their older brothers and sisters. At table, the younger children are quick to take notice of the size of the portions of the favorite dishes, as meted out to each little member of the family. The giving of a larger piece of bread and butter to the older child often occasions a cry of indignation and the scornful rejection of one's own slice. Everyone who has been much in a nursery knows well with how much envy in his heart a child can struggle for a toy to which he had but recently been indifferent. Envy is a real factor in the act of distinguishing be-

tween Mine and Thine. To be forced to wear articles of outgrown clothing which have come down from older children in the family is a constant source of deep suffering to the heart of the child. Every child feels proud to be decked out in a dress taken from its mother's wardrobe, or in the trousers belonging to one of its father's suits, and so, by contrast, an intense feeling of mortification is felt when it is compelled to wear a garment which has been a brother's or a sister's. Only those who have themselves been in similar situations, know how to estimate the amount of suffering, of humiliation that a child may feel under such conditions. The school-child who must take over his brother's or his sister's books, year after year, also experiences this same feeling of mortification. Many a case of lack of zeal for learning is to be attributed to such economy on the part of the parents. To practice it is an educational blunder, and one of which the effects can easily be underrated. Parents who have insight carefully avoid showing partiality when giving presents, even if unable to do so when it comes to articles of daily use, like wearing-apparel, etc. To the infantile comprehension equal values in gifts mean an equal measure of love. For by his holiday gifts the child gauges the degree and warmth of his parents' love for him. Since he has not as yet an adequate knowledge of real values, the number of presents given him serves him as a means of judging whether or not he enjoys his fair and proper share of the giver's favor. Three children of my acquaintance, a girl and two boys, between seven and four years old, and belonging to the same family, have been accustomed to exercise an exact control of the distribution of gifts, at Christmas time and other holidays, in order to make sure that the principle of equality is observed. The being remembered with gifts is in itself a holiday pleasure to young people. In that matter youth is insatiable, for to be given presents signifies to be loved. This fact, that the child's world of thought and world of feeling are egocentric, explains why the ethical significance of the Bible text,—"It is more blessed to give than to receive" remains incomprehensible to him for so long a time. The failure to comprehend this idea seems to stand in contradiction to the feeling of joy which the child shows even early in life, when he has the chance to give gifts to others. But when it is remembered that the child does not hesitate to demand again the thing that he has just voluntarily offered to someone, it becomes clear that it is only the evidences of love for himself that he is really concerned about, and he takes it as a matter of course that he ought to be paid back in the same coin; or, in other

words, that the gift should be actually or virtually restored to him. For this reason children prefer to give presents to grown people rather than to playmates of their own age who do not share their conceptions of generosity. Even when, through imitation of other people, and through ethical instruction, the child has learned to part with better grace from his possessions, nevertheless it usually costs him a severe struggle to give away toys for the benefit of poor children, in spite of the fact that it seems a handsome thing to do so. The strongest motive for this refusal, however, is not avariciousness, but rather an unrealized association in his mind between the precious object and the person of the giver. That an association of this sort, when realized, is strong, is illustrated by an experience with my nephew, who was unwilling to part with a damaged mill which had been set up from a cardboard pattern, and said in explanation, —"No, I will not give that away. Auntie H— made me that herself. I shall keep it forever." A further, and likewise unconscious, ground for refusal was this; that the fact of clinging to a toy signifies to the child-mind the virtual holding fast to a memory-treasure. Many writers are of the opinion that it comes particularly hard to "only" children to give presents; but to this opinion I cannot subscribe. The natural hostility between brothers and sisters directly fosters the unwillingness felt by each one to part with his own property, while "only" children actually enjoy giving presents—perhaps from the unspoken hope of having them returned, but frequently from a desire to play a grand rôle.

The place amongst the children of a family held by those who are intermediate in age, and especially by the child next to the last, has also its noteworthy peculiarities. The mental development of such a child is often unlike that of the rest. He is apt to show a sensitiveness and a capriciousness of temper (Launenhaftigkeit) which are foreign to the normal, healthy child. This tendency is of significance, and can only be explained on the assumption that the middle child is crowded out of his place ("als Nesthäkchen") by the child born afterward, and yet does not enter into the rôle of "protector," of admired "person in authority," as the older children do. The middle child has to yield to the wishes of the youngest child and yet is not reckoned as among the "grown-ups," the "big" children. In short, the middle child does not receive from either side the signs of affection which he would like and which he feels himself justified in claiming; and he pays back this lack, or imagined lack, of affectionateness by being disagreeable.

The relationship, both jealous and tender, which we have become acquainted with as subsisting between twin children—even in their first year—continue to exist in the later years of childhood. Twin children are inseparable playmates, and quite often withdraw from the companionship of other children. Compayré tells us[9] of twins who thought out for themselves a language all their own, which other people could not understand. If the twin children are of different sex, then the boy's desire to dominate comes out ever more strongly, but along with this there always go signs of tender, protecting care—as of the man for the woman. Then, also, at a stage in development where true sympathy in joy and sorrow is foreign to the lives of other children, in the case of twins we find those emotions clearly in evidence. I have notes about such a pair of children who, while making their grandmother a visit, had to sleep in separate rooms. Both children complained, each one saying that it would be impossible to go to sleep without the presence of the other. At last the boy overcame his fear of the darkness, but although the house was strange to him, he tried to get into his sister's room "so that Emma might not be afraid." The custom of dressing twins alike, either all their lives or at any rate as long as possible, may materially strengthen this feeling of belonging to each other. Indeed, in individual cases, it may give rise to the thought that to wear the same kind of clothing is the distinctive mark of the twinship. Sully illustrates this[10] by the following amusing story:—A pair of twins,—a boy and a girl,—had always been dressed alike, but after a time the boy was put into a distinctively boy's suit. Soon after this, a lady asked the little girl whether she and her brother were not twins, whereupon the child replied,—"No, we were."

The need which all human beings feel of establishing bonds of intimate companionship makes itself apparent even in earliest childhood, and the satisfying of the gregarious instinct counts for one of the strongest influences in the development of character. In the small child the social impulse is expressed through his crying when alone. In the service of this impelling desire for companionship with others, the child's budding imagination endows inanimate things in his environment with life and understanding. The power of phantasy thus secures comradeship for the child when he is alone and keeps him from becoming bored. But phantasy, rich as it is, cannot provide the child with an environment really warm with life, cannot

[9] Compayré, l. c., p. 310

[10] Sully, l. c., p. 156.

give him a playmate having wishes and thoughts other than those which are peculiar to himself; imagination cannot grant him a comrade different from himself and yet one who enters into every game with him and joins him enthusiastically in every kind of prank. For that reason the "only" child remains lonely at heart. Or if he finds mates of his own age, it is difficult for him to feel at ease in their company because they do not show recognition of the fact that there is something that makes his position, even theoretically, different from theirs; it is as hard for him to adapt himself to other people as it is for the "favorite" child to do so, and that, just on account of the over-measure of parental love which he has had at home. The disposition of such a child as this, one who is accustomed to rule and who will not forego his privilege, becomes unbearable after a time and he develops a tendency to obstinacy which embitters many an hour. The child who grows up among brothers and sisters approaches stranger playmates in a far happier spirit and in a more natural manner. On the one hand, the ability to adjust one's self to other people and the willingness to subordinate one's own interests; on the other hand, an early developed individuality; —these are the qualities which serve as the best means for cementing an enduring child-friendship. But that volatile amiability which leads some children to strike up friendships with anyone and everyone, only to break them as quickly as they were formed, is not to be looked upon and welcomed as only another sign of the temperamental mobility so characteristic of childhood. On the contrary, it is very often an indication of emotional unrest, the expression of a deep-seated and insistent tendency to resist the making of permanent attachments (Sadger).[11]

No bond of friendship between children is without the sexual note. Indeed, this influence rivets friendships and tempers them like steel, just because it gives occasion for the consciousness of having secrets shared in common, and for the unconscious recognition of a certain sense of guilt, mutually experienced. It is not gross sexual offences that come most often into play, under these conditions; the mere interchange of ideas about the various organs of the human body and their functions is something that has a strong attraction for children, and this is enough. In the earliest years of childhood it is the processes of digestion, in riper years the sexual function, which most often gives occasion for the whispering and tittering well known to every mother. And then the varied games

[11] Sadger, Belastung u. Entartung.

which have a sexual note—games in which it is a sort of mark of intimacy to join—lead frequently, in the case of younger children, to handling each others' bodies and so gratifying, at once, the infantile pleasure in exhibitionism, and the "peeping" impulse [Schaulust]. But these facts by no means justify anyone in inferring moral depravity in the child. It is only that, for him, these primitive and important functions connected with life are not encircled as yet by that wall of conventionality to peer over which is considered as so shocking. Even at the period when education has stimulated the growth of modesty and disgust (Ekel), these sentiments are not strong enough to crowd out of the child's mind the sex-interests with which nature has endowed him and which are bound to assert themselves in despite of his esthetic feelings.

The erotic craving in the child, the desire which strives mightily for satisfaction within the limits set by nature, brings to maturity that passionate admiration for adults which differs in no way from the love felt by grown people, save for the fact that the sexual-act is lacking. Habits of cuddling, kissing, caressing—as manifestations of affection—yes, even the indulgence in sulking, as a sign of temporary disapproval, are characteristic alike of children and adults. The child selects his objects of love just as the grown-up person does, but bestows affection at first without regard to sex. Little boys admire and love men as well as women; little girls readily give their love to a member of their own sex, if only the prime condition is fulfilled, that is, if the favored person shows one or another of the traits that are characteristic of their father or their mother, or else is free from the traits or peculiarities which the child has disliked in her parents. It is something more than a superficial association that inclines children—as Aristotle noted—to address all men as "father" and all women as "mother"; children, indeed, in their simplicity, expect love from every person who approaches them, and are ready to regard every man as really a loving father, and every woman as a tender mother. My nephew, who looked at the matter in this way, when from three to five years of age, had such "mothers" in four places, women whom he designated as "Mami" with the family name prefixed ("Meyer Mami," "Egger Mami," etc.) in order to make a fine distinction between them and his beloved "Mutti." The so-called "child-love," toward persons of the same sex, certainly contains a sexual element of slight amount. That this is so is recognized even by untaught people of primitive instincts; and with a keen sense for the truth, popular terminology

chooses the word "verliebt" (in love with) to describe the erotic feeling of the child for the adult. Psycho-analytic investigators have confirmed the accuracy of this judgment formed by the "homely" folk-mind; and they arrived at this conclusion in the course of their attempts to explain the failure of homosexual patients to "make good" in their love-life, because of the special nature of their erotic experiences in early infancy. It appears, namely, that persons who have this tendency to become too strongly attached to others of their own sex, followed the right course—as children—in departing from their primary attitude of indifference (bi-sexual) in the bestowal of their affections, but failed in that they were unable to form definite attachments to persons of the sex opposite to their own. The concern which a widow feels, that it may be bad for her son's development to remain exclusively under feminine influence; her anxiety lest he become a "mother's boy" and not a "boy's boy," contains a more rational element than that which finds expression in the justifiable fear that the boy may outgrow his mother's guidance, and may suffer for lack of a stronger hand. In fact, an unconscious longing for the father lies so deep in the heart of such a boy, that long after he has grown up, the unappeased yearning still remains with him. In such a case as this, the unsatisfied longing is likely to lead onward to "inversion,"[12] just as happens in the case of the child who, repulsed by the parent of the opposite sex, unites himself passionately to the parent of the same sex. In situations of this last sort, the normal breaking-away from the too strong influence of the latter parent, at the proper time, is not always successful. But the ultimate effect of an exclusively feminine environment upon boys who seek to withdraw themselves from this influence by making a direct change in their environment, is often to induce in them an unconscious aversion to women in general, which, even though it does not appear upon the surface and is not distinctly recognized by them may, nevertheless, seriously disturb the social relationships of their maturer years. With the female sex, similar factors probably have analogous effects. It is therefore clear that in trying to explain the homosexual tendency, it is not enough to think of "innate constitution" as its sole cause, but that the parental-filial relationships, as existing in the individual's early childhood, must be studied likewise. It is also true, of course, that disturbances in the relations of the several children of a family to each other may also have unfortunate results.

[12] Excessive love for persons of one's own sex.

Every child has a natural fondness for animals. In his early years he has no feelings of disgust, therefore he likes the worm as well as he does the butterfly. And since his inborn instinct of gregariousness is at first stronger in him than fear, so far as animals are concerned, his affections flow out with equal intensity to dogs, cats, and horses, and to the bears and elephants of the menagerie. It is natural that the dog, because of its position of privilege in the house, should become the child's declared favorite, very early. He finds in the dog the most faithful and patient of playfellows. The dog even lets itself be utilized in the service of the childish tendency to violence and cruelty. The child, by virtue of his mental superiority, feels himself to be the master—and while playing with his dog, he has no cause to fear being made fun of, nor yet being crossly repulsed, as often happens when he is in the company of people; and even when the patience of the dog is exhausted and it shakes off its tormentor angrily, nevertheless the child still believes in his right, as possessor of reason, to rule over the creature that is devoid of it. It is partly from this consciousness of his own attributes and rights, this sense of his own superiority, that, indeed, the child's deep love for animals arises. Shinn's records show[13] that the fondness of little children for animals stands in direct connection with infantile masochism[14] [self-subordination]; and the affection which many children have for cats, in particular, is perhaps to be traced back to the masochistic tendency. Shinn speaks of her niece, then in her third year, as follows:—"On one occasion she extended her hand toward a cat hidden in a clump of bushes, then turned and called out to me,—'Kittie is scratching me a little.' Then she forced her way into the bush once more and as I came near her she looked up and added,—'Kittie is scratching me again.' With that she showed me a second bloody scratch on her finger. Then she begged, for the third time, to be allowed to catch the cat." Since children, as a general thing, manifest a greater sensitiveness to pain after their first year has passed—a sensitiveness which is materially strengthened of course, through excessive demonstrations of pity on the part of adults, it is to be inferred that, in cases like the one just cited, that the feeling of pleasure exceeds that of pain. I myself have retained from earliest childhood similar memories as to being scratched by cats. In

[13] Shinn, l. c., pp. 223–224; 301.

[14] By this it is meant, partly that the child seeks to escape from its own sense of dependence and weakness through taking an aggressive attitude toward animals, partly that children experience a certain pleasure, of a strange but well-attested sort, in suffering pain at their hands.—(Trans.)

Shinn's niece, in addition to the masochistic tendency, a strong sadistic tendency was also shown when she was playing with animals. Shinn's report of the child's twenty-fourth month, says that a dog belonging to them had to be sent away because the little girl tormented the creature continually, although she also let herself be bitten by it.

To take care of animals, to feed them, even to watch a young generation grow up, gives the child so much pleasure that when live animals are lacking he lavishes the same care upon toy animals. "If I cannot have a live Dackel, then buy me a stuffed one," my nephew begged of his mother, when he was four years old. The care of animals signifies to the child a form of play that meets half way his own sex-interests, his anal-erotism. It is true that worms, flies, etc., appear to be destined to serve as victims of infantile cruelty, partly because, from his earliest days onward, he sees them attacked and driven away as pests; also, perhaps, because the expressions of disgust which people about him make, seem to him worthy of imitation. But certainly, in his first years, the tormenting of animals is associated neither with an accurate conception of the pain caused them nor with an intention to inflict pain. Chasing animals, catching them, and hindering their freedom of movement,—all such tendencies induce in the child the same sort of pleasure as he feels when adults play the same sort of games with him. In cases where intentional torturing of animals appears in the child at a very early age, mental abnormalities are present which stand outside the boundary-line of normal responsibility.

As the unconscious impulse to cruelty, without entirely disappearing, is gradually changed to compassion by way of this love for animals, so upon the soil of the child's affection for his parents and for his brothers and sisters, both generous and sympathetic impulses, on the one side, and the sense of jealousy, upon the other, spring into life and flourish on the same root; and it is also true that feelings of gratitude germinate in the child's heart, close beside his insatiable demand for love. With the very little child the expression of gratitude is not a sign of his expectation of further kindnesses, but is the spontaneous manifestation—in the outward form of word and gesture—of a true, warm feeling. E. and G. Scupin give the following record of their little son in his fifth year of life:[15] —"Bubi is beginning to give proofs, now and then, of being grateful; for we regard it as a sign of gratitude when the child, after his

[15] Scupin, l. c., II, pp. 151, 213, 217.

mother has told him stories, brings her a toy, and says,—'Because you have told me such a lovely story, mother dear, I am going to make you a present of this.' And only to-day he gave his mother a still stronger proof of gratitude. He heard her saying (to the cook) that she was sorry, but she needed a little more grated roll (dry bread crumbs). Although he was tired of grating dry rolls and was taking a rest from his labors, Bubi sprang up from his seat, determined to do his best. He got a roll and the bread-grater and began his task again. His mother wanted to take the grater away from him, and said he would better rest himself; but Bubi affectionately pushed her back, and said,—'No, Mamale, because you were so good to me when I was a tiny baby (Pappekindel), I am going to grate rolls for you now.'" After Frau Scupin had explained to her boy, then in his sixth year, about his having grown in her womb, and had told him how she gave birth to him, and how much pain this caused her, a moist gleam came into his eyes, and he pressed close to her; then suddenly he sprang up with the cry,—"But now I am going to build you a beautiful bridge, to make you glad." Another speech of his that breathes childish love and gratitude is reported from the end of his sixth year:—At bed-time—the hour when my four-year-old nephew too, according to his own statement, used to feel "so tender"—little Scupin, after long hesitation, and as if revealing a deep secret, said to his mother,—"I have been praying to the dear God that I may always love you both; and have begged that the Christ-child may bring more and lovelier presents to you than to me—things that you like, you know." Such avowals, full of tenderness and love, have nothing in common with the studied thanks of older children, but come from the depths of the unspoiled child-heart, where, nevertheless, hatred also dwells close beside love. A fine distinction between love proceeding from gratitude and that arising merely from a sense of duty toward near relatives, comes out in the words of little Max: Asked by a visitor which member of the family he liked best, he replied,—"I love mother because she says to me,—'You are my treasure!' Then comes Aunt Hermine, because she pastes so many pattern-sheets (Modellierbögen) for me and gives me sweetmeats. Then comes Tante Mina (his great aunt); I like her too—(after a pause)—because, well, because she's my aunt."

Under the influence of the necessary and still more of the superfluous measures taken in the training of children, a good part of the spontaneity becomes lost, which is so characteristic of their nature

and so agreeably distinguishes it from the artificial dispositions produced by our conventional life (Kulturleben). The more the originality of any given child, is sacrificed to the requirements of education (training), the more he is forced to give up his unsophisticated genuineness, the more deceptive does his play of features become, and the more frequently does embarrassment—the awkward sister of modesty—deprive his conduct of its naturalness. Under the rigid rules of conventional modesty the child loses the best of what Nature has lent him, namely, the spontaneousness of his thinking, feeling, and acting. It will be objected that there is a great gap between absolute freedom and machine-like restraint, and that if allowed some latitude, the child might find ample opportunity for the free unfolding of his will while gradually accustoming himself to the conventionalities. But this is only partially correct. We are still far removed from realizing in practice that ideal of education which aspires to create happy, perfect human-beings (Vollmenschen). And this aim will remain but a vision, an unattainable goal, so long as one burdens the child's soul with the task of exercising repressions that are out of proportion to his strength. We call upon the child much too often to be ashamed of himself, in situations where his feeling and his common sense can find no reason for shame. The very young child has neither the sense of modesty nor the sense of the lack of modesty; and the artificial cultivation of the former feeling leads it, even at a very early age, to indulge in dissimulation (Verstellung) as an instinctive method of revenge. Compayré characterizes the feeling of modesty as a mysterious kind of instinct which works constantly for expression, and which is so universal as to be found even in the mentally defective. In consequence of the attempt made by parents to arouse this feeling too soon or too strongly, or—what comes to the same thing—to bring about a repression of the normal sexual stirrings and strivings, the child's mental growth becomes choked in a tangle of rules and prohibitions, in face of which his native simplicity gets confused and lost. Even apart from the inconsistencies due to differences in opinion between the different members of the family, there are so many inherent contradictions in the conventional definitions of "propriety" (Schicklichkeit)—which would fain pass for morality (Sittlichkeit)—that the intelligent child cannot but note them. And since punishments, though they may induce temporary submission, are not able to clear up the inconsistencies in the commands, the result is that the child is led to indulge secretly in the fancies and cravings in which he has

learned to find pleasure, while taking care to avoid rebuke by yielding an outward and nominal obedience. The fate of these repressed cravings may be either of two sorts: they may wait—eternally vigilant—until the moment when they can break forth tumultuously, or they may turn themselves gradually into their opposites (in ihr Widerspiel), without losing the undertone which was characteristic of them at the outset. Thus a tendency to cruelty may re-appear, after a primary repression, in the double guise of compassion—as for a person who has been maltreated—and of an outspoken desire for vengeance—as towards an inflictor of undeserved suffering. Thus, one sees people who, as children, did not hesitate to torture animals, grow white with anger and excitement when witnesses of such a scene. The sentiment which one so frequently hears voiced, that some form of suffering should be meted out to the persecutor of animals, similar to that inflicted by him on them, may be regarded —in spite of the apparent justice of the desire—as based in part on the still living but repressed sadism of the speaker. In analogous fashion, the enviousness of the young child may pass over into a spirit of generosity, which then, however, betrays its origin and history by associating with itself a longing for adequate appreciation. So, too, the childish tendency to tell fantastic stories which are hardly to be distinguished from lies, passes over into an almost fanatically scrupulous regard for accuracy. In my opinion, this demand for accuracy rests, however, also, on a strong, instinctive wish on the child's part, to secure the frankness of those about him, by means of his own apparent candor—but, naturally, it is, essentially, with regard to sexual matters that he wants other people to lay aside reserve. Both of these motives seemed to underlie little Günter Stern's fanaticism for "the truth."[16] The diary informs us how the boy let his imagination run riot in picturing family scenes, shortly after the birth of his little sister; what a lasting impression his mother's confinement left in his memory, and with what interest he observed, in all its details, the care taken of the baby. The more intense the primary excitement has been, the more strongly this overcompensation is developed. All these apparently unconscious transformations of forbidden desires into their opposites, in childhood, are, in reality, affairs of more or less conscious dissimulation. To the child who does not yet comprehend what "moral conduct" means, and who is therefore without the inner satisfaction which comes from doing right, the so-called bad qualities promise greater

[16] C. u. W. Stern, Erinnerung, Aussage u. Lüge, p. 122.

gain in pleasure (Lustgewinn), even when punishment follows the enjoyment, than "being good" (Bravsein) can offer. Since this is so, as long as there are children in the world, the "bad" element in the child's make-up will always bear away the palm of victory over the "good"—and the more so that most forms of punishment, such as whippings, imprisonment in closets or dark rooms, etc., are apt to carry with them a certain note of pleasure. Of course blows hurt; but psychoanalytic investigation has demonstrated that when they are applied to certain erogenous zones (as in "spanking") blows may excite libidinous feelings especially in the case of predisposed children. Finally, the fact should not be overlooked that the masochistic endowment[17] of many children causes (bedingt) a veritable revelling on their part, both in the suffering of punishment and in "begging pardon," which is so frequently required of them. A five-year-old boy who was often severely chastised by his father, admitted,—"The beating hurts me very much; but when father is kind again, because I have begged his pardon, then I do not want to go to bed at night, I am so happy." Quite often, the auto-sadistic factor comes into play, under the form of what counts as a sense of justice. Thus, little Scupin when he feels himself guilty of a slight offence, voluntarily puts himself in a corner, as if to anticipate, perhaps also to disarm, his mother's blame. When the violence-craving instinct (sadism) is prominent, flagrant defiance is the usual reaction to punishment; and stubbornness makes the acquiescence in a request for reconciliation the hardest sacrifice which a child can offer.

What begins as dissimulation becomes veritable hypocrisy when the child intentionally displays feelings which are the opposite of those he feels; but this rarely happens in the first period of life, thanks to the naïveté characteristic of those years. For that very reason, when it does appear it affects one the more painfully. To illustrate:—A little girl, four years old, was playing with a kitten in what seemed to be an affectionate manner; she stroked the animal and called it pet names. As soon as she thought herself unobserved, however, she pinched the little creature's tail. Being called to account for this, she declared,—"I do not like kittens." Again:—A five-year-old boy who pretended to treat his grandmother with extreme tenderness, stuck out his tongue at her the moment her back was turned. Here his desire for sweetmeats and his anger at the failure of the tenderness lavished upon her to produce the effect

[17] Tendency to find satisfaction in submissiveness.—(Trans.)

hoped for, gave rise both to his deceitful behavior and to the expression of revenge.

Although in later childhood dissimulation is often practiced with a truly painful cunningness, the very young child is apt to unmask his fault immediately after its commission. One influence that is liable to induce a hypocritical tendency in childhood is the habit in which adults often indulge, of urging children to make demonstrations of affection for which they feel no real impulse,—a veritable shove towards egoism. Thus a three-year-old little girl, who, in the presence of a company of ladies, was requested to give a bouquet to the one whom she liked best, said, after a little hesitation,—"I shall give it to my Papa." This was a happier choice than a child's untutored instinct can be counted on to make. When the time arrives that the artificial conventions of our social life begin to do their work, the child is in face of two dangers: he may become one of the "enfantes terribles" who are continually bringing adults into painful embarrassment through a passion for truth-telling, or one of those sorts of children who cultivate the art of dissimulation for the sake of external advantages.

Dissimulation, in itself, includes so much intentional weighing of pros and cons, that where it appears we can scarcely err in assuming a tendency to falsehood. To make the inverse inference would be to commit a serious error. In the case of the young child, however, what the layman calls a lie often has nothing to do with purposeful departure from the truth, but arises from imperfect comprehension, from imperfect memory, or from the activity of an all too luxuriant imagination. Studies in the field of child-psychology have shown us that, as a rule, real lying does not occur with children under four years of age.

We know now-a-days that it is not an affair of lying when a little child makes statements that he knows to be untrue, his whole body convulsed the while with mischief, at the thought that he has succeeded in fooling the grown-ups. In my opinion, the instances, so very frequent, where the child pretends to have an urgent "bodily need," or pretends that he is "not well"—through which deception he gets just so much more attention and more signs of love from those about him—are by no means cases of intentional "lying," nor due to the feeling of "being obviously good for nothing," which Marcinowski[18] declares to have been the motive in the case of a three-year-old hysteric. This patient was a little girl who had been

[18] Marcinowski, Zur Frage der Lüge bei Kindern unter vier Jahren, Zeitschrift f. päd. Psych., VIII, pp. 201–205, 1905.

in bed for some time encased in a heavy plaster-of-Paris cast, on account of a serious, double dislocation of the hips, and who "from sheer ennui and from obvious good-for-nothingness" used to demand, at the most inconvenient times, to be held over the bed-pan—a form of service by no means easy. In the words of the author,—"The clever little monkey made use of all possible devices in order to escape from the need of maintaining uncomfortable bodily positions, or *in order to tyrannize over her environment.* This latter comment gives the sick child's true motive for her conduct, namely, her insatiable demand for affection, for manifestations of tender love. Also, so it seems to me, it was *feeling* rather than reason that caused Stern's little daughter, Eva, to bring her unjust accusations against her brother. Stern writes:[19]—"Our Eva put upon Günter the blame for every fault, for everything left undone. This she did, even at one year and eleven months, from purely associative reasons (as Stern thinks), because she had often heard Günter called the originator of little pieces of mischief. But, in fact, if Freud's views with regard to the relation between brothers and sisters are well founded, an unconscious feeling of hostility toward her brother, on the part of this little girl, must have been a partial cause for the bringing of these accusations.

The attempt has been made to classify "child-lies" in separate groups, according to their psychological roots; but the number of these groups appears to me to be too large. I believe that one could separate such lies into those which have reference to the child himself and those which relate to other people (Subjekt- und Objektlügen). The "subject lie" (Ich-lüge) springs, in part, from the impulses tending toward the intensification of personal self-consciousness, in part from the sex-instinct. Under this head can be placed those lies which are designated by Stanley Hall as "egoistic lies." I include here the false accusations brought against oneself in respect to some moral offence, really committed by another person; for in this way the *ego* is forced into the foreground of attention, even when the original accusation was a trifling matter.

Among the lies occurring at an age before the school-period, those proceeding from ambition (Grossmannssucht) and those arising from social necessity (Notlügen) occupy the first place, and as a rule the former are the product of unrestrained self-love (Eigenliebe) and of a passionate affection felt toward the parents. The craving to get ahead of other people, to excel them in strength,

[19] C. u. W. Stern, Erinnerung, Aussage und Lüge in der ersten Kindheit, p. 115.

beauty, wealth, aristocratic lineage, etc., is at bottom nothing else than self-assertion (sexual aggression, ein Sichhervortun auf sexuellem Gebiete), conceived of as within the limits that are permitted by the conditions of life during the period in question. Since, as we have seen, the processes of taking in nourishment and of digestion, as well as the exercise of the muscles, are all of importance to the child as sources of pleasurable feelings, it is with reference to hitherto unheard of accomplishments on these lines that he loves most to boast. While his fondness for lording it over the rest of the family, in one way or another, and for ordering the household affairs in his own interest have their origin in his erotic relationship to his parents. But since every child looks at his own home through the rose-colored glasses of love (der Erotik), similar attempts at boasting, etc., on the part of other people, are especially abhorrent to him. It is also true that children usually make but little of the "white lies" of their playmates, as long as they themselves are not drawn into trouble thereby; for it seems a matter of course to them to avoid a threatening punishment in the easiest manner possible. And certainly the conventional lie, considering that its psychological root is fear, is the most natural of all; indeed, as a rule, a form of training, faulty from excessive severity, is far more responsible for the appearance of the "Notlüge" than is the inherent mental nature of the child himself.

Deliberate and thought-out lying is very rare in early childhood, and if it occurs at all it is an outcome of envy and the expression of a desire for revenge—that is to say, it springs from egoistic motives. A child's feelings are deeply hurt when another child is preferred before him, or when he imagines that to be the case; and when this happens he is tempted to force his more fortunate rival out of the coveted position of "favorite," first of all by tattling about him and finally by making untrue statements. Here the strong tendency of the childish mind to indulge in imitation should be taken into account. Again, the cross-questioning of a child by adults, with reference to a matter that he knows about, as for example in the attempt to discover the perpetrators of some slight offence, is one of the most fruitful causes of untruthfulness. The sense that he is occupying a position of great importance, during such an inquiry, stimulates unduly the imagination of the young witness, and this tendency accounts for many of the fantastic stories which children often tell to the discredit of domestic servants. From the tone of the parental questioning the childish mind soon comes to see that the

weal or woe of all those concerned in the offence at stake depends upon the answer made, and the wish to free himself from the suspicion of concurrent guilt clouds his memory as to the true state of affairs, and falsifies his testimony—although, emotionally excited as he is, the child is scarcely conscious of this fact.

Not lying, alone, but—as I have already intimated in an earlier chapter—most of the other faults of childhood have one root, at least, in erotic feelings and sexual experiences. Indeed, it is not going too far to search for the basis of everything that goes wrong with a child (die Basis alles "Bösen" am Kinde) in his own sexual life, or that of the persons with whom he has to do. It is a noteworthy fact that envy, hatefulness, timidity, and morbid shyness grow over-luxuriantly where love and tenderness are lacking in the child's environment; while, on the other hand, an excess of affectionateness with its tendency to cause enfeeblement of the moral fibre often plants the seeds of self-conceit and unsociability with reference to other children, and of disobedience, with outbreaks of rage, with reference to adults. To deal successfully with the bad habits of children requires a long, sympathetic study of the child-mind; a looking backward into the period of one's own youth, remembering its happy and unhappy hours; and, above all, the honest determination not to overlook the important motives that spring from the realm of the subconscious and unconscious. The teacher in whom this knowledge has matured, will realize, as the essential condition for reaching the desired goal, that there should be less effort made to train the child in accordance with specific systems, and more attention paid to the securing of opportunity for free, spontaneous development.[20] This is the demand of the best modern pedagogy—the object being to create a free and happy race of men, a race which shall tear down the rotten barriers of an educational era that has outlived its prime.

VIII. Art in the Life of the Child (Die Kunst im Leben des Kindes)

In the earliest period of childhood, the signs of interest in matters artistic are conspicuously absent. In the next later period this interest seems to be of a passive character, while in a third period, which is the direct outgrowth of the second and partakes of its characteristics, the artistic interests take on an active form. From ear-

[20] "Weniger zu erziehen und die Kinderseele frei sich entfalten zu lassen."—(Author.)

liest youth onward,—that is, from the moment when the child reacts at all to works of art and to productions of artistic skill (Kunstfertigkeit), definite lines of preference in the matter of taste make themselves noticeable; and these preferences are either retained as such in later periods, or shift over to their opposites in consequence of special tendencies of psychologic nature.

One tendency which is common to all children in the first years of life, at the age when they first begin to notice works of art or to observe nature, is to devote themselves to picking out details; whereas, on the contrary, an harmonious whole remains entirely unappreciated. The most magnificent landscape, as such, means nothing to the child; a brightly colored stone, a leaf dipped in the fiery tints of autumn, the first flower of spring, etc., each of these things fills the child's heart with delight. For the former are welcome as playthings, and the latter readily serve, in the form of gifts, as tokens of affection for the father or the mother. The most ravishing prospect has a charm for the child only when it permits a view of the house in which his parents live, or of the church-tower in his native place, etc.—in short, when it reminds him of something seen before. The child reacts to painting and to sculpture (Bildhauerkunst) in similar fashion. He selects a definite impression which makes him think of something he has experienced, an impression which awakens in him associations which lie far removed from the artistic interest of the artist. The child's strongly developed sense of personality (Persönlichkeitsgefühl) rejoices in the representation of the human form as an image of himself. He takes pleasure in the picture-flower, in the picture-animal, because of their familiarity for him. For a long time it remains impossible for the child to distinguish rationally between reality and an artistic representation thereof. This fact is clearly shown in his recognition of persons in photographs. In such an act the strange fact comes to light that people of his environment are recognized more quickly and more easily in pictures, than he himself is. E. and G. Scupin,[1] on this point, as regards their son when in his thirty-sixth month, report as follows:—"The photographs of the boy arrived. The little picture with the two dogs aroused in him a strong feeling of pleasurable excitement. Bube recognized these two dogs immediately and gave their names at once correctly. The likeness of himself, however, although remarkably good, was described at first as of 'a little girl,' next of 'a boy,' then 'little Lotte,' and not until a quarter of an hour later did there come to him in a flash of illumination the

[1] Scupin, l. c., I, p. 205; II, p. 160.

conviction that the picture really represented 'Bubi.'" On another occasion, in his sixth year, when his photograph, made a few days before, was shown him, little Scupin exclaimed,—"Oh, a boy!—building something!" and then asked hesitatingly,—"Am—I—that boy?" Yet even long before that period he had been able to recognize pictures of his father and of his mother without any difficulty. My nephew, too, who was photographed in his sixth year, gazed at the print (Aufnahme), obviously uncertain who it represented, and finally said, as if puzzled,—"Do I look like that?" The importance which the reflected image in the mirror has for the development of the power to distinguish between the real and the unreal is well recognized in every nursery. One measures the mental growth (das wachsende Verständnis) of the child by his behavior in regard to these mirror pictures. But it is a common mistake to ascribe to intellect a judgment which should in fact be credited to feeling. Thus, the pleasure aroused by the recognition of himself—a pleasure of a narcissistic sort—leads the child, first to compare himself, over and over, with the mirror-picture, and finally to comprehend (begreifen) the unreality (Irrealität) of the latter as contrasted with the former. Only when the child has acquired this piece of knowledge, reached through these studies of his mirror-self, does he come—and that gradually—to recognize the photographic representations of his father and mother, and brothers and sisters. And that takes place without his extending the newly acquired power of recognition to the point of including his own photograph. A three-year-old little girl who had grown up among four other children, refused to recognize herself and her youngest brother, as they appeared in a family photograph,, where the latter child, then an infant, was represented as on the mother's lap. The small daughter persisted in calling the baby, "Margie, when she was little,"—that is, by her own name, which was Margaret. To this it should be remarked that when the photograph was taken the little girl was very angry because she was not allowed to have the place on her mother's lap. Such instances show very clearly how a feeling, if very strong, renders more difficult an act of recognition and warps the perception of an artistic production.

Naturally, in the very earliest period of childhood, an esthetic valuation is out of the question. In general, the child prefers pictures bright with many colors to pictures made in one tone, although in many instances simple silhouettes are liked better than either. Amongst other reasons for this preference—not to speak of those

of playfulness—the memory of the early impressions made by shadows on the wall or floor deserve mention as of probable significance. At certain periods of life the chasing of shadows is a delightful form of play. And so, too, the following of the moving bright spots made by the sunlight on avenues and in the woods, is a pure source of pleasure; indeed, all contrasting effects of that sort influence the child's mind very strongly. In similar fashion, the brighter colors—particularly yellow—have the place of preference, while dark ones, like black and brown, are often rejected with signs of fear or of disgust. Many children show a lively aversion toward red, as being the color of blood, which is connected in their thoughts with the idea of pain; and this association is of infantile origin. Frequently a sudden change takes place in this matter of color-preference. For instance, all at once, the color yellow, hitherto preferred, may be turned away from as obnoxious. It may, indeed, share the unfavorable estimation of the browns, and be, as it were, identified with them, even with those that are not in the least like yellow in shade. The fact that the word "disgusting" is applied to many different kinds of colors makes one suspect that they are thought of as having characters in common, and occasional expressions let fall by children betray to us what these common qualities are thought of as being. Thus, a little girl, three years old, referred to the brown wall-paper of a certain room as "the Ah—ah! brown walls"; and she likewise refused to taste of unfermented grape-juice (Most), saying—"Pfui! I won't drink that; that is Wiwi (urine)." (Compare these sentiments with my nephew's analogous remark in regard to roast hare in brown gravy—see PSYCHOANALYTIC REVIEW, April, 1918, page 204.) Perez emphasizes the fact that white, as the brightest color of all, enjoys the special favor of children. Perhaps it should be added, however, that for many of them this is so, not on account of brightness alone, but because it recalls (unconsciously) the color of the pillows on which every child passes many pleasant and comfortable hours.

When the child's power of perception (ability to perceive) has become developed to such an extent that picture-books afford him lasting pleasure, then noticeable differences in the direction of his fancy often appear with respect to the contents of the picture (representation). It usually happens that pictures of groups of persons and of animals are preferred to the representation of objects without life ("still-life studies"), just as some children are pronounced lovers of animals as well as of all that relates to domestic life. One child likes crowds of people, the larger the better; another prefers

the indications of strongly marked individualities, individuals with strongly marked personal traits. Most children show a distinct preference for symmetrical arrangements. E. and G. Scupin mention, in particular, their son's preference for the arrangement of objects in pairs. I have observed the same liking in many other children, and I remember it also from my own youth. This love of symmetry might well have roots that reach down even into the very period of infancy, the time when Nature's pairing tendency first forced itself pleasurably upon the child's attention in connection with the two breasts. It is true that in order to establish this claim (opinion) it would have to be demonstrated that delight in symmetry (the sense of symmetry) shows itself more clearly in breast-fed children than in those artificially nourished; the symmetrical arrangement of certain other parts of the body would then but strengthen the liking founded in the first period of life. To think of this special fondness for symmetry as a form of pedantry (Pedanterie) (a kind of affectation), having its origin in repressed anal erotism, I do not regard as sound, because pleasure in symmetry makes its appearance at a time (in the history of the individual) when anal erotism has not as yet experienced repression. Children who have this love of symmetry frequently show a talent for reckoning; and for them also the arranging of dots, little stars, etc., to form a regular pattern, is a kind of occupation from which they derive much pleasure. Such children like to match together figures made from bits of highly colored cardboard, as in picture puzzles. They enjoy making one pattern several times, laying out the pieces in squares, and take pleasure in "the dumb rhythm" which underlies the repetitions in form and color.

The creative fantasy of most children is so active that they cannot rest satisfied with the limited number of things which are given them to play with, in the form of artificial toys. As soon as his little fingers are nimble and skilful enough to follow the flight of his thoughts, the child forms, cuts out, and builds toys for himself, by way of copying and inventing. If sex and natural endowment induce a varying choice, now of one field, now another, upon which the child's skill shall seek employment, it is true that there are cercertain kinds of creative activity which all children unite in preferring to any other. These preferred forms are those which involve the moulding of something out of one or another sort of plastic material,—a piece of dough, a lump of clay, etc. For in using these substances in that way the child is able not only to meet the most

bizarre demands of his imagination, but also to act out his coprophilic instincts in very harmless fashion. Thus a boy of three utilized his play with modeling-wax solely for the forming of "Haufi," *i. e.,* of soft masses which he thought of, according to their size, as characteristic of the persons of his environment, or of certain animals. And what is the significance of the custom with which the play with moulding-wax, clay, dough, etc., usually ends; what, namely, does the pelting of comrades and brothers and sisters with it signify? What else than *wishes,* the anal-erotic character of which speaks out clearly in unrestrained laughter, even when there are no accompanying words?

Children begin, very early, to utilize their lively interest in the functions and organs of the human body in the service of their youthful "creations," as in drawing and in modeling. And if, by this time, the trunk no longer counts as the most important portion of the body, but has yielded its position of prime interest to the head, nevertheless in the drawings made by children a disproportionately large space is invariably assigned to the former. In the estimation of the child, the front view of an object remains for a long time the one that alone seems worthy of representation, while the back view is systematically neglected, and on this account the stomach and the abdomen are usually drawn very large in proportion to the limbs. This error in assigning their due to the different segments of the body is based on the difference in rating, as regards importance (adopted by children), for these various parts. That this is true is shown by the curious questions asked by children, as illustrated by one put by my nephew when in his fifth year;—"How must I draw the man, so that one can see his Popo?" Or by the request of a six-year-old little girl, who said, "Mamma, draw me the woman from behind and from in front at the same time!" When instructed that this was impossible, she herself added to the drawing, in the place where the abdomen was, two curved lines, saying, as she did so, "There! that is the Popo; now the woman is undressed." A small boy who used to be present, day after day, while his little sister was being nursed, was bent on having his mother's breasts ("Bubu") appear in her picture. In the "Analysis of the Phobia of a five-year-old Boy,"[2] Freud reports that the child, upon drawing a giraffe, was not satisfied until he had completed the drawing of the male animal by putting in the sexual organ in the form of a long mark. When children make drawings of houses, the toilet

[2] Jahrbuch f. psychoanalyt. psychopathol. Forschung., I Band.

closet is seldom lacking; usually it is indicated (symbolized) only by a circle. Indignant readers will remonstrate at this remark, and say,—"Harmless motives, too, thank God, are chosen for drawing and for modeling—as a scrutiny of the numerous collections of the first attempts at drawing made by children would clearly demonstrate." But, in the first place, what I said above about one of the chief sources of error to be considered in studying the psychology of childhood is of general application and holds true here; namely, too little attention is paid to the *very first* attempts at expression on the child's part. And, in the next place, one forgets that in their drawings as well as in their dreams, children use unconsciously the language of the symbol. "Very proper" drawings have come even from the hand of my nephew—who has won for himself, I fear, a bad reputation through the pages of this book: trains of cars without a "closet," but with an enormous smoke-funnel and a great quantity of smoke streaming from it; street-lamps with lamplighter and ladder, as they are seen in picture-books; beetles and butterflies without sex characters. Also, he moulds "Bonzen" out of dough, and gives them bead-eyes, without consciously thinking of anything "objectionable." But then he often lets the "Bonzen" hang his tongue out too far, or puts under his arm a cane much too long and too thick for his size; and these are symbols well known to us from dream-analysis. The little Scupin, also, for whom, in his sixth year, the sexual problem was the source of much puzzling and perplexity, united the functions which seemed to him the most important—nutrition and reproduction—in the picture of a hen drawn with eggs coming from all three openings into the region of the abdomen. It would be well worth while to examine carefully—in the light of psychosexual investigation—the various publications which describe[3] the development of the art of drawing, in children. Such a scrutiny would not make the child seem "worse" to us, but would help us to a better understanding of his mental processes.

A striking tendency which the child exhibits is to entertain a sense of personal fellowship with paper or cardboard figures of men and of animals, or with images of them made from some plastic material. Woe to the sacrilegious parent, who, in helping to give last touches to such a work of art, chances to shorten an arm or a leg of the beautiful figure.[4] Such mutilations, done by a hand other

[3] Corrado Ricci, L'arte dei Bambini; Perez, L'art et la Poésie chez l'Enfant; Levistein, Kinderzeichnungen bis zum vierzehnten Lebensjahre, u. a.

[4] Preyer, l. c., p. 99.

than his own, excite the child intensely, and for the reason that in the failure to take his creative efforts with sufficient seriousness, he feels himself slighted. As compared with this motive, his vaunted sympathy seems to count as nothing, for at once he tears off the arms and legs of the poor little image, and throws it, crumpled or crushed, into a corner.

In the estimation of the child, the fairy world and the world of reality mingle, as it were; together, they make a brightly glowing fabric in which certain strands are so strong in color that they give a special tone, a certain character, to the whole. The strands of which I speak represent the child's most intensive interests, those which are to form, later, the guiding motives for the deeply poetic tendencies of his mind. The imaginary conversations that are carried on with animals and with toys and with that friend of all children, the moon, form the introductory stage of this poetic activity. The note of tenderness which is so characteristic of these conversational monologues shows that they spring from the fountains of emotional longing, and, indeed, they furnish clear proof of the child's hunger for love. At the end of his second year, my nephew addressed the moon every evening in such terms as these: "Dear moon, come down to me! I love you so much. Why do you not come? Is it too far? I must go to sleep now. Good bye, dear moon!" Such a private talk with the moon has nothing in common with any interest in its phases, for the imaginary conversation does not spring from the intellectual life, but from the emotional, and represents an elemental outpouring (ein erstes "Singen und Sagen") from the child's soul.

It is self-evident that the first stories invented by the small child must conform to the home environment. Stern's little son,[5] when in his third year, and on the occasion of his happening to be present when his little sister Eva was being nursed, gave expression to the following creation of his fancy, to the great delight of his parents: "Muttsen looked at Eva and Eva looked at Muttsen—and Eva did not cry out, Eva slept gently—Eva ate a little sausage—a piece of ham sandwich, for her supper—Eva ate it all up; and then she went to sleep—not on the sofa, for Eva sleeps in her carriage;—and Eva looked up at the sky (at that he gazed at the ceiling) and did something (she can do that, Eva can—he affirmed, in answer to our glances of surprise)—and Eva called to father—'Father!' 'Mother Hilde!' 'Günter!' 'Hester (Schwester)!' 'Mieze!'—and, of

[5] C. u. W. Stern, Kindersprache, p. 108.

course, Eva had—yes, yes! (We:—'What then did she do?') Günter:—Nothing. No more story!" What else could little Eva have done, after all those exertions, but wet her bed? But the little rogue exercised instinctively the right claimed by all great poets, to let their poems "die away" without making the outcome of the events therein depicted known to the reader. Perhaps he did this because he went on, in secret, spinning out the thought that the little wrong-doer deserved punishment; or because, in telling the story, he identified himself with his little sister (he, too, could "do" things); and then the unpleasant notion of punishment did not seem a fitting ending to his little tale.

Naturally, their own personal powers and feelings play an important rôle in the stories invented by children. Their auto-erotism, clothing itself in the dress of fairy-tales, inspires them to miraculous feats of strength and courage, done in fancy, and they love to imagine situations in which they can plume themselves on possessing the virtues which they most lack in real life. The stories made up by boys indicate, as a rule, an irrepressible craving for traveling and adventure. The cravings which find expression in these stories of adventure arise in part though not solely from the longing for the information that seems so far removed and hard to gain (*i. e.*, the longing to discover sexual secrets); but they have also another root, and are to be conceived of as a kind of word-sadism directed toward the parents. The unruly son hears all too often the threat, —"If you are not a good boy, we shall strap your knapsack on your back and send you away." But the child's heart, which is tender in spite of all his love of wildness, feels expressions of this sort as indications of a lack of affection, and thence, as a reaction, the desire to wander forth comes into play. Naturally, these trains of thought and these feelings remain hidden from the consciousness of the very small child, but they mature with his growth, in the form of a love for strange stories of adventure and highly colored travelers' tales. My nephew, toward the end of his sixth year, invented a story about "Daumsbau, the Holeborer" (Lochbohrer), and told how, "with a hatchet made of ice (!), he bored deeper and deeper into the earth until he came to the centre, where everything is dark and warm, and then he went farther until he reached the opposite side (Gegenseite der Erde) and came out again at the north pole; and to do that Daumsbau needed only two or three days, because he had the hard hatchet of ice with which he could hack the earth very easily." In such creations of the fancy, psycho-analysts

recognize "Mutterleibsphantasien," dim memories of the prenatal state. In view of the strong and instinctive anal-erotic interests (Veranlagung) of the boy, it is to be supposed that fancies of that sort underlay the conception of Daumsbau's coming out again on the opposite side (Kehrseite) of the earth, at the north pole. Ideas concerning the sexual-act (which he had observed with great attention in the case of animals) may have given rise to the concluding thoughts of the story.

The pleasurable influence of rhythm,—as shown even in the first months of life in the fondness of the infant for being rocked regularly, to and fro, and for the crooning sound of cradle-songs,—leaves memory-traces which may enhance, or become the basis for, a real liking for music, provided other experiences do not come in to prevent this outcome. Observation teaches us that most children react with pleasure, in their early years, to music and to rhyme, responding, indeed, with greater delight the more simple the melody of the song is,—that is, the more definitely the emphasis is thrown on the element of rhythm. Here a part of the history of human development is recapitulated on a small scale. The savage is satisfied with a very few tones, which he repeats again and again, until he becomes physically exhausted or is thrown into a state of morbid exaltation. And it is equally characteristic of children that they never cease wishing to hear, and to try over, their favorite tunes, as was made clear in our discussion of "echolalia." Thus, my nephew, at from four to five years of age, whatever he was doing, used to sing, during long periods of time, and without ceasing, monotonous "Tili—tili—tü, tü, tü," which reduced to desperation those who had to listen. I have already called attention to the significance of mucous membrane-erotism and muscle-erotism for echolalia and rhythm, and it is my belief that it is a similar form of erotic excitation that underlies the rhyme-making tendency in which the youngest children find such pleasure. The child enjoys and, as it were, falls in love with, the sound of his own voice, and, without realizing it, he revels in the same kind of exalted feeling that characterizes the creative frenzies of the poet. As a rule, pleasure in rhyme shows itself quite early. Thus, little Scupin,[6] even by the end of his fourth year, used to compose new verses as soon as the supply in the store-house of his memory was exhausted. They comprised all sorts of senseless word-formations; yet an unmistakable effort was to be noticed to make the end-syllables approximately of

[6] Scupin, l. c., II, p. 85.

the same sound, as in this instance: "esse, küsse, rege = diene, müsse, nege = holla, tschingda, dimda = eier, küsse, eimda"—and more nonsense of like sort. If the adult was able actually to exchange his own way of thinking for the child's, he would perchance find such chains of syllables to contain an element of good sense. An evident pride, on the part of this child, in his spontaneously invented rhymes, showed itself frequently during his sixth year; and in his seventh year he took pleasure in searching for real words that rhymed, and putting them together. Moreover, whenever actual words were lacking for a satisfactory combination in order to produce similar sound-effects he would invent new word-formations without sense. This boy contented himself with using a succession of rhyming words, but Shinn's[7] niece utilized, in the service of her creative fancy, many little songs or poems which she had learned by heart. In doing this the liking for an erotic accentuation stood out clearly. When three years of age she used to sing about the books of her dearly beloved aunt, and of her uncle who had won her special affection:

"Everywhere the little books, the red books, the black books,
La—la—la—la—la—la!"

saying further:

"The song of the black books—black all through—
black inside, black outside."

Another production ran as follows:

"Ontle (uncle) Jose (Joseph) everywhere—
Ontle Jose, and Tanty (auntie), and Ruth Fenno Shinn (herself)—
The black names, the white names,
The red names, his name,
Everywhere are names."

Auto-erotism and also love felt for the persons whose love for him seems strongest; make a poet of the child. My nephew, when near the end of his sixth year, liked to give expression in verse to the joys and the sorrows of his heart. Thus, while in the midst of his play with a toy-town, which had a market-place, and booths where milk, wine, etc., were sold, he sang the following verses, which do not appear in any of his books:

"Mamma will give me neither wine nor beer,
And so I drink but water pure and clear;
From milk I often turn away,

[7] Shinn, l. c., p. 189.

I hate to drink it every day;
But yet to take it I must try,
If chocolate I wish to buy."

Shortly after his sixth birthday, and for the first time in his life, he felt melancholy and had a touch of pessimism (Weltschmerz); and so, while sliding, for pleasure, down the iron rail of a fence, he composed the following lines:

"I wanted to kill myself, three days ago,
Because the old world disgusted me so."

Unfortunately, his mother did not find out why he had such thoughts, or what his reason was for wishing to leave the world.

As a matter of course, different forms of play often incite to attempts at poetry. The following little song came from a four-year-old little girl who kept repeating it persistently for weeks:

"Long enough I've carried you,
Dolly, pretty dolly;
Put you in the carriage new,
Dolly, pretty dolly.
Go to sleep now, dolly, do!
Dolly, pretty dolly."

My nephew accompanies his plays with his train of cars by poetic effusions suitable to the occasion; they are spontaneous outbursts of longing of a child who feels himself still small but longs to be big:

"When I'm big,
When I'm big,
I'll be an engineer.

Since I'm small,
Since I'm small,
Comes to me this 'malheur.'"
(The railroad bridge had fallen down.)

And upon playing "market":

"Kauft's Eier, kauft's Eier,
Damen und Wei(b)er!"[8]

Even when children quarrel they are apt to give vent to their feelings in rhymes, and these sometimes remind one vividly of the defiant songs ("Trutzliedeln") of the young peasants. Thus, two boys, about six years of age, whose fisticuffing was interrupted by their mother, and who were kept apart, in a room and on the veranda respectively, continued their quarrel in words, after this fashion:

"Du Esel, blöder Esel."—"Du Besel, struppiger Besel."
"Du bist ein dummer Aff."—"Dafür bist du ein Laff."

[8] Here the original text shows the boy's play on words.—(Trans.)

Folksongs and childen's rhymes are alike in having a personal quality to them; everything is "feeling tone" (Gefühlston), based upon the accumulation of actual experiences and concepts (auf dem konkreten Vorstellungskreis) of the individual composers. It has already been pointed out what a strong impulse children have to use symbols in their diction; and this tendency is as noticeable in the rhyming of all children as it was shown to be in the monologues of those who, even at the age of three or four, give to the persons around them names taken, at the dictation of their own feelings, from the inanimate objects by which they had been attracted or repelled.

IX. Dreams (Die Träume)

In Bogumil Goltz' "Buch der Kindheit" a passage is to be found[1] which bears witness to the author's profound understanding of the child-mind (für die infantile Seele), and of the relation which the mental experiences of children bear to those of the adult. Goltz says:—"Children's dreams are noteworthy, not only because they weave together the charming and the monstrous after a fashion that testifies to the child's fondness (fancy) for arid deserts, edifices of fabulous construction, dim mysterious seas, primordial-seeming waters, Egyptian-like decorations, and chaotic landscapes, but also because the dreams indicate the modes in which the awakening intelligence is beginning to take note of the manners and customs of the social world. Children's dreams would furnish very interesting material for the study of dream-symbolism in general, were it not that the child-philosophers forget with extraordinary rapidity, the creations of their dream-fancy, whether of night or day." The child's dream (Kindertraum) expresses without disguise, and with appealing frankness, the wishes and longings which the day has left without fulfilment, and throws but the barest of cloaks over the imagined experiences that reflect the sexual erotic tendencies which play so large a part in children's lives. The degree of complication introduced into the dream of this period accurately corresponds to the amount and effect of the training which the child has received, with reference to the socially permissible and the socially forbidden. Even thus early the hidden forces at work within the mind begin their task of distorting the dream-desires, as they first frame themselves, so that the dream as it finally comes clearly to the dreamer's cognizance, may be in such a guise as to be acceptable to the rigid

[1] Goltz, Buch der Kindheit, pp. 263–264.

censorship of his own (half sleeping) consciousness, and still more to be able to withstand the criticism of his parents, to whom the child trustingly discloses the dream-experiences of the night. And the more inclined those censors are to adopt a hostile attitude toward offensive-seeming dreams which express the child's interests in an all too undisguised (lit. = unveiled) fashion; or, again, the more intensive the efforts at repression which the child finds himself forced to make during his daily play, so much the stronger are the primary, wish-bearing thoughts with which the dream is obliged to deal, and so much the more concealing and distorting are the means taken to protect the wishes which, after all, the dreamer longs unconsciously to fulfil. Just as the decalcomanias (Abziehbilder) with which children play are made up with color-combinations which are largely concealed beneath the adhesive film which covers them and which serves to attach the color-sheet to the paper, so the dream puts a coat of varnish, as it were, over the heart (Kern) of the wish, enveloping it in a concealing covering which only allows just so much to shine through as may suffice to enlighten one who has become skilled in the art of dream-interpretation. To unskilled laymen, on the other hand, it seems incomprehensible how the mind of the child can devise such dream-images as he tells about, and such persons are inclined to ascribe this unsuitable nonsense, as they think it, to an imagination over-excited by fairy-tales—and (do it) more than the actual state of affairs would warrant. The materials which the child finds in fairy-tales and weaves into his world of dreams serve simply to provide an outlet for the real wishes of the day, these are desires which he would fain transform into actual happenings, if this were permissible, without invoking this indirect mode of illustration (the aid of fairy folk, etc.). In his classic work on dream-interpretation, "Die Traumdeutung," Freud has quoted a number of simple and suitable children's dreams the wish significance of which is readily apparent (auf der Hand liegt = is on the surface). When, on the ground of health, a child is denied the pleasure of eating fruit, it is natural enough that in his dreams he will indulge in the forbidden pleasure. And to enjoy, in a dream, the chocolate which has been refused to him by his mother, in the interest of prudence and moderation, seems to the sweets-loving little child to be only a just compensation for her arbitrary infringement of his rights. A trifle more complicated is the following dream of a four-year-old little girl who did not want to eat her bread and milk. She said: "I dreamed that we were in the Prater[2] [an ardent wish, on

[2] Pleasure-ground in Vienna.

her part], and that I had a ride there in the pony-wagon—and that I did not want to get out. And then Mamma took me on her lap, and I ate a whole plateful of rice and milk" [thus rewarding her mother for taking her to the Prater]. "But then I felt very sick, and I threw everything up again, and"—[after some hesitation]—"I still have stomach-ache." In dreams of this sort, one may recognize a child's desire to convince her mother that she cannot take Milchspeisen. But to this there is superadded the apparent tractability with which the really rather sly youngster makes return for the maternal display of love, an episode which may be interpreted as corresponding to the wish: "Give me tenderness and love, and then I will do something to please you; but only once, for the payment comes too dear." Finally, this dream assures the child that she certainly shall not be bothered afresh with Milchspeisen, on the day after an experience with stomach-ache.

The dreams of adults vary in meaning and purpose, along certain lines, and are classifiable under such headings as, dreams of convenience, of embarrassment (exhibitionism), of fear (Angstträume). Then come the typical dreams of going up stairs over an infinite number of steps before which at last a chasm yawns and which end with the unavoidable plunge into the depths; then dreams of flying and climbing; and finally the dreams of vast sheets (expanse) of water, of stretches of marshy meadow land, of ice-floes, etc.—these dreams the layman ascribes to certain external influences to which the sleeper is subjected. Many of these dream-experiences of adults reach backward into earliest childhood—not alone in the sense that in each and every dream unfulfilled, repressed wishes of childhood type find expression, side by side with actual desires of the present moment, but also in the sense that many adult dreams are the repetitions of childhood dreams, adapted (adjusted) to the situations of to-day. Many children excuse a slight urinary mishap at night by saying that they had dreamed they were seated upon the night-vessel; and they cannot understand why this excuse should not be "honored" by their parents. Two little girls, four and six years old, who liked to keep their hands under the bedclothes while asleep, professed inability to see why their father should find it necessary to wake them up with a slap, since they certainly were not to blame for wanting to have their hands warm instead of cold during sleep. In both cases, a suitable dream might be welcomed as giving the dreamer freedom to do forbidden things. For both enuresis nocturna and nocturnal onanism bring the child

agreeable sensations, pleasurable feelings which shame and fear of punishment prevent him from enjoying in the day-time. Anxiety-dreams play a special rôle in the life of children. Wild animals which seize the child or pursue him, thieves and murderers who theaten him, bring out regularly, in addition to a latent dream-wish, the undisguised wish to be taken by his parents into bed with them. Shinn's niece,[3] in her second year, used often to cry out in sleep, but became quiet the instant her aunt took her into bed with her. Indeed, with that child, as with Darwin's little daughter,[4] even to place a gentle hand upon her was enough to silence her whimpering while dreaming. For reasons that one can readily appreciate, it happened that the memory of terrifying experiences during the day-time served her purpose very well in securing the fulfilment of this wish. Thus, at the end of her third year, the little girl dreamed of a bull which threatened her, and in fact, such an animal had broken loose from his keeper once, and had forced his way into the veranda. For two months long this dream-picture kept its hold upon her; and in spite of all that the various members of her family could say, she maintained stoutly that a bull had come into her room at night. From her fourth year onward, the little girl's dreams had a strongly sexual character—something which stands in immediate relation to the fact that she slept in the bed-room of her parents. We read: "She awoke from a dream, and feeling 'desperate' crept into bed beside her mother; also she refused to let herself be put back again into her own bed because—as she declared—'bad men' were in the room, Papa had said so. Then she climbed over to him and snuggled herself closely against him (snuggled up to him)." It is evident to any one who has become skilled in dream interpretation who "the bad man" was, and why the little girl had not remained lying beside her mother but had clambered over to her father. A mental association similar to this lies at the foundation of various dreams cited by Sully[5] and by Scupin.[6] The first writer tells of a small boy who entreated his mother not to allow him to sleep in a certain room "because so many (of course, *bad*) dreams were in that room." The little Scupin, in the last month of his third year, on waking from an anxiety-dream about a spider which was coming to bite him, started up with the cry "into Mamma's bed" ("in Mamas Bettel"), and in the seventh month of his fourth year, he

[3] Shinn, l. c., pp. 466–451.
[4] Darwin, Biographical Sketch of an Infant, p. 79.
[5] Sully, l. c., p. 87.
[6] Scupin, l. c., p. 206; II, 57.

dreamed, one day, during his midday nap, of a man who had stabbed him in the eye. The eye, besides being an erogenous zone on its own account, serves also, in fantasies and dreams, as the substitute for another such zone,—namely, for the buttocks (especially the anus). Since the dream is noted, in the diary, as having occurred in the seventh month of the fourth year, and his newly formed acquisition of the word "Klastiedel" (enema-tube = Klystier), was mentioned four months earlier, the above-mentioned dream may have signified an irrigation-fantasy. And hence, possibly, in this experience, the anal-erotic interest was active in addition to purely sexual fantasies connected with his observations (what he had observed) in the bedroom which he occupied in common with his parents.

In the eighth month of his sixth year,[7] this small boy's dream-fancy took advantage of an attack of periosteitis (Beinhautentzündung) in order to smuggle an assault-scene into the night experience. "A man with an axe," declared little Ernst Wolfgang, "had come up to his bed and had hacked him in the face; and he had opened his eyes quickly, so as not to dream any more about the bad man, but none had been there, only the tooth in the place where the man had struck him with an axe, was aching terribly." The bodily irritation (Leibreiz) provides the fruitful soil into which the Unconscious introduces the various repressed ideas (thoughts—Vorstellungen) and wishes of the day.

In children's dreams a rôle of special interest falls to small, indeed minute animals. These dreams fulfil a double purpose: they afford the child a chance to indicate his fondness for such creatures, and also for reacting, in imagination, to the assumption that he, himself, and, still more, other persons whom he loves, are threatened with danger by the animals in question. Shinn's niece,[8] at five-and-a-half years of age, dreamed of green ants having club-shaped antennæ; "with one of which she had struck Mamma's head and bent it backward; then she had begged the ants not to kill Mamma, which the bad insects had not done either. Finally, she had entreated them to put her mother's head back in place again; and that happened also, so that Mamma was 'well' again." This dream evidently contains death[9] wishes toward her mother. Presumably there is a sexual note in the invention of the club-shaped feelers which were used in making the assault (zum Angriffe dienten). Perhaps it is

[7] Scupin, l. c., II, p. 201.

[8] Shinn, l. c., p. 450.

[9] See note to p. 316, the Psychoanalytic Review, July, 1918.

the striking motility of those organs that gives to beetles and to ants the pronounced sexual significance which they possess—vaguely—for the childish fancy; for it is certain that the latter insects, in particular, appear in the anxiety-dreams (Angstträume) of children. My nephew[10] once reported a dream of that description; but unfortunately it was not written down in detail (with exactness = genau). Another interesting observation taken from the little Shinn girl's life shows how the child during her sleep wove forbidden acts of the day-time into anxiety-dreams—which the layman interprets as indicating an uneasy conscience (die Macht des bösen Gewissens). "When she was five years old,[11] she dreamed that soldiers had come to kill her, because she had said she was going to steal something.—'But when I assured them,' she said, 'that I would not take any of the preserved fruit, they let me go.'" The dream incentive (association of the day before) was a visit to a fruit-drying establishment, where—according to Shinn's surmise—the child might have appropriated without due authorization, some pieces of the fruit. In characteristic manner the dream only intimates that she had "*said*" she intended to steal, without insisting on the fact that, in reality, the intention had been carried out. The dream, therefore, made use of the lie in order to secure for her the liberty of indulging in the eating of the fruit (lit. = freedom of enjoyment), and, likewise, freedom from punishment.

In addition to the anxiety-dreams, which are very common, there are many sorts of "beautiful" dreams that come to enliven children's sleep. These, as I have already mentioned, are represented in part by the pure undisguised wish-dreams of innocent (harmless) content, but among them there occur also many in which erotic and sexual cravings express themselves quite openly. After the arrival of the forester's son, early on a summer morning, little Scupin dreamed of the boy, "toward whom he seemed to feel himself very strongly drawn." The problem of nakedness occupied my nephew, in a dream which he had in his sixth year. In that dream he challenged the maid-servant thus,—"Johanna, show me your Popo!" adding regretfully,—"But she did not do it." Presumably from the lack of the right (mental) presentation (Vorstellung), the dream failed (to give) complete granting of the wish by letting Max's little friend suddenly appear, for his description of the dream closed with the statement,—"And then I was with Erna."

[10] Compare with Sully, l. c., p. 87,—ant-dream of a two-year-old little girl.

[11] Shinn, l. c., p. 450.

There are certain childhood dreams (Kinderträume) which accompany the person through his entire life, not in memory but in the actual re-dreaming of them. Such are the "staircase-dreams" (Stiegenträume). Psycho-analytic investigation has shown that, with adults, in such instances, this symbol always relates to coitus fantasies. But since even children who have had no opportunity whatever to observe the sexual-act, so far as one can possibly ascertain, frequently start up in terror out of such dream-creations, still another interpretation must be possible. In my opinion it is, as a rule, the erotic muscle-sensations that, in the case of children, find expression in these dreams of climbing (Kletterträumen). It is certain that in all the muscular efforts which the child finds so entrancing—first of all those which attend the learning to stand and walk, then those of climbing (which latter so often give rise to an onanistic feeling)—there is an erotic note which, unrecognized as such, makes a deep impression on the child's mind. And these pleasures, also, the dream permits him to enjoy in fuller measure than is conceded to his waking hours, over which social convention exerts so strong a sway. Exhibitionism-dreams, too, are quite common even in the earliest years of childhood, but they speak their speech clearly in language that cannot be misunderstood. A little girl, nearly six years old, dreamed that she was playing in the garden with her mother, and that both were clad only in chemises because the heat was so great; and the child told this dream without a trace of embarrassment.

Children's dreams retain, during a long period, a place among the actual experiences of daily life, and it depends upon the degree of intellectual development and power of imagination of each child how soon the time will come when they are clearly recognized as creations of fancy, enchanting but deceptive. Naturally, the child holds very firmly to the reality of those dreams which contain an open wish-fulfilment; and, on the other hand, in the case of anxiety-dreams, he gladly lets himself be convinced of the unreality of the night experience. Yet, even then, it retains its hold on the subconscious mind.

If adults would take the pains to study their children's dreams, and, in the interest of further enlightenment, to contrast them with their own, they would find, in the former, germs of many a tendency which ought to be better understood, and which, if understood, would surely be looked upon as a danger to be dreaded and, if possible, averted before it should be too late.

U. HOLZER
BINDER
BOSTON, MASS.